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An explanation of differences among eighth grade boys and girls in regard to their level of educational aspiration and their adjustment in the school situation was presented. The students studied attended seven different junior high schools. Four of the schools were predominantly composed of children from middle-class families, and three, of children from working-class backgrounds. One school was almost entirely Negro.

The data were collected through two questionnaires. Standardization of conditions of administration of the questionnaires was stressed and teachers were given printed instructions which they read to their classes. Data were also collected from school records, including children's scores on a standard achievement or intelligence test, their grades in individual school subjects, their absences from school because of illness, their visits to the school nurse, and their fathers' and mothers' occupations. Ratings of the children by teachers were also obtained. Variables of the study included educational goals, motivation to go to college, and certainty of going to college.

Conclusions showed that the most important influence leading young adolescents to adopt high, or low, long-term educational aspirations was centered in the family; parental educational goals and aspirations for their child shape their child's own aspirations. Results indicated that the modal social status or climate of aspiration of the school had little, if any, effect in modifying the level of aspiration children acquired in the home.

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COOPERATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT NO.1935

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PAUL WALLIN

LESLIE C. WALDO

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND OF 8th GRADE PUPILS, SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF THEIR SCHOOLS, THEIR ACADEMIC ASPIRATIONS AND SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT

Cooperative Research Project No. 1935

Paul Wallin
Leslie C. Waldo

Sociology Department
Stanford University
Stanford, California

1964

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PREFACE

The research described in this report deals with two related problems of interest to social scientists, to educators, and to parents of school age children. Broadly speaking our inquiry was concerned with (a) evaluating the impact of their schools and families on the educational aspirations of adolescent boys and girls, and (b) determining whether children's feeling about school--the extent to which they find it a rewarding experience--is linked to the social-class position of their families, as has heretofore been assumed from rather limited evidence. The theoretical and practical implications of these questions, the manner in which we studied them and the results yielded by our investigation are set forth in the chapters which follow.

The subjects of our research were the eighth-grade children of seven junior high schools in two different school districts. The study, therefore, required the cooperation of a large number of persons other than the children themselves: the school superintendents, the principals and various members of their staffs, the teachers and the school nurses. Since all persons involved--from the superintendents to the children--were assured of the anonymity of their participation in the research we are regretfully unable to name them in this expression of our appreciation. We can hardly say more than what is self-evident: without the cooperation of all of them, this study would have been impossible.

We are happy to acknowledge our indebtedness to the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation for the grants which facilitated the earlier phases of the research. The grant from the U.S. Office of Education, for whom this report has been written, was the major source of support for the research from the time the data were collected. We are also indebted for assistance from the National Science Foundation under Grant No. NSF GP948, and to the National Institute of Mental Health, MPM9367. We are grateful, too, for aid given us in the terminal stage of the project by the Russell Sage Foundation Program in Medicine and the Behavioral Sciences (Stanford University School of Medicine), and by the Department of Sociology of Stanford University.

We are most appreciative of the help given us in the final preparation of the report by Karin F. Inge and Carolyn Stell. Thanks are also due in this connection to Marilyn Nichols and Barbara Weinig.

For their judicious comments on portions of the manuscript we are grateful to Professors Bernard P. Cohen and Morris Zelditch, Jr. Professor Herbert Solomon offered sound counselon some problems of factor analysis, which unfortunately we were unable to make use of for this report because of pressure of time.

Freda B. Wallin collaborated with the senior author in the original formulation of the study, in the development of the research instruments, and in the collection and coding of the data. Regrettably she was unable to join us, as initially planned, in the analysis of the data and in the preparation of this report.

October, 1964

Paul Wallin
Leslie C. Waldo

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CHAPTER 1

THE RESEARCH PROBLEMS: EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT

This report is an account of a study of eighth-grade boys and girls which was concerned with explaining differences among them in (1) their level of educational aspiration, and (2) their adjustment in the school situation. The students studied were the eighth-graders of seven junior high schools. Four of the schools were attended predominantly by children from middle-class families and three by children a majority of whom were of working-class background. One of the working-class schools was almost entirely Negro.

This chapter discusses the problems investigated and their significance. Chapter 2 reviews the literature pertinent to the present research. Chapter 3 indicates how the study was carried out. It describes the selection of the subjects, the kinds of data collected from them and other sources, and the procedures employed for the measurement of level of educational aspiration, school adjustment and other variables of the research. Chapter 4 presents the data and findings for the test of the hypothesis that the modal level of aspiration of the student body of a school exerts an independent influence on the aspirations of students. Chapter 5 presents data on the relation between students' aspirations and their I.Q., grades, extent of liking for school and feeling of certainty about going to college. Chapter 6 examines the association between children's perception of the parent-child relationship and the concordance of parent-child educational aspirations. Chapter 7 reports the data and findings of the investigation of social-class differences in school adjustment. This problem is dealt with further in Chapter 8, which presents data on the relation between children's family background and teachers' ratings of their school adjustment. Chapter 9 offers a critical appraisal of the data of the study as a basis for judging how much confidence can be placed in its findings. Chapter 10 summarizes the outcome of the investigation, discusses the implications of the findings and offers some recommendations for future research.

Attention is called to the fact that table numbers are keyed to the chapter numbers. Thus Table 4.1 is Table 1 of Chapter 4.

Copies of the two questionnaires used for collecting the bulk of the data are to be found in Appendix B. The questionnaires for girls are omitted since they were the same as those of the boys except for the differences appropriate to the sexes. Appendix B also contains the instructions to teachers for the administration of the questionnaires. In Appendix C we present a copy of the form on which teachers rated the students and the directions given teachers for making the ratings.

The Study of Aspirations

In the original formulation of the study of aspirations of eighth-graders we proposed to test the following hypotheses for boys and girls:

(a) the proportion in any school who aspire to a college education is positively correlated with the proportion in the school who come from middle-class families;

(b) working-class children in a predominantly middle-class school are more likely to aspire to a college education than those in a school in which the majority of their peers are also from working-class families;

(c) middle-class children in a predominantly working-class school are less likely to aspire to a college education than those in a school in which their middle-class peers constitute a majority;

(d) Negro children, in an all-Negro, predominantly working-class school are as likely to aspire to a college education as white, working-class children in a school of approximately comparable social class status.

In the course of analyzing our data in terms of the foregoing propositions it became evident that--except for the special case of the Negro children--the problem of the interaction of family background and school composition could be more properly and effectively studied if formulated at a higher level of generality. We, therefore, reformulated the purpose of our aspirations study as being a test of the hypothesis that the modal level of aspiration of their school independently influences the educational aspirations of boys and girls. The important implication of this hypothesis is that the type of school attended by children--defined primarily by the aspirations most characteristic of the student body[1]--can change the aspirations with which a minority of children initially come into the school. The restatement of our problem, with this implication inherent in it, placed the social class position of children's families in perspective as a rough index of the educational values and aspirations which children may be presumed to bring with them to the school situation. The influence of their school then would be demonstrated if children of the same social class are found to have divergent aspirations when attending schools which differ in their modal level of aspiration.[1] With this view of our research objective we were additionally led to treat separately fathers' occupation and the educational level of mothers and fathers as indices of children's home-given educational aspirations. The more decisive test of what we call the hypothesis of school influence was made with parents' educational aspirations for their children as the most direct measure of educational values in the home from which to infer the level of aspiration which children brought to their school milieu. The foregoing is in essence descriptive of the assumptions and procedure we followed in studying the effect on children's aspirations of the interaction of home and school influences. The hypothesis of school influence was tested separately for boys and girls and parallel findings are presented for the two sexes.

---

[1] Schools which differ in this respect may also differ in other significant ways which could serve to reinforce the influence on individual children of the modal aspiration level of their school.

The data relating to the aspirations of Negro boys and girls are given and discussed along with the data for the white children. It should be remembered, however, that the study group contained no Negro children in a middle-class school.[2] Consequently the data for these children did not permit us to observe the impact on their aspirations of a school with a relatively high modal level of aspiration. It was possible, however, to note whether the aspirations Negro children brought to the school--as inferred from parental aspirations for them--were depressed by their being in an all-Negro working-class school. The findings on this question, as well as all other findings for Negro children, must be regarded as highly tentative due to the limitations of the sample and the small number of Negro children in the study group.

The Concept of Level of Educational Aspiration

The subjects of our study of educational aspirations were asked (a) how far they wanted to go in school and (b) a series of scale questions descriptive of how much they wanted to go to college. Their responses to the first question in conjunction with their scores on the scale questions was the basis of the classification of subjects[3] in regard to what we have called their level of educational aspiration.

---

[1] The phenomenon at issue in this study is change in students level of aspiration. Schools can, of course, play an important part in the reinforcement of attitudes, values and aspirations which students acquire from their families.

[2] There were a few Negro children in the middle-class schools of the study but their number was too small to warrant their being treated as a separate group.

[3] See Chapter 3 for the questions asked the subjects and for a description of the procedure used to classify them on level of aspiration.

Most other studies concerned with students' attitude or set with respect to finishing high school and attending college have differentiated their subjects by their responses to a single question phrased in terms of "planning" rather than "wanting." Examples are: "Do you plan to go to college? (Yes definitely; perhaps; no)"[1] and variant forms of this question which could be answered by the choice of one of a number of specific educational plans such as "I plan to go to a junior college."[2]

The questions--as used without any conceptual analysis, in most studies of educational aspirations--suggest that investigators are treating "desiring" and "planning" as equivalent[3] and subsuming both terms under the rubric of aspirations. This has the effect of blurring important distinctions and creating difficulties in the comparison of the findings of different studies. Obviously many students may be desirous of going to college but, for any one of a number of reasons, may not be planning on doing so. And some who are planning on college may not particularly wish to go.[4] Furthermore some confusion attaches to the term "planning" since it can be interpreted as "intending" or "expecting" and--taking the word more literally--as signifying the deliberate pursuit of a course of action intended to achieve a specified goal. Although planning (to go to college) in the latter sense may imply intention or expectation of going, the converse is not necessarily true.

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[1] See David J. Bordua, "Educational Aspirations and Parental Stress on College," Social Forces, 38, 1960, p.264.

[2] See, for example, Alan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, 24, 1959, p.839.

[3] One of the few exceptions is a study which distinguished between "liking" and "planning" with the questions, "What is the highest grade in school you would like to reach if you had the chance?" and "Sometimes we cannot do what we would like to do. How far in school do you really plan to go?" (See Robert G. Holloway and Joel V. Berreman, "The Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Plans of Negro and White Male Elementary School Students," Pacific Sociological Review, Vol.2, No.2, 1959, p.57. See, too, Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22, 1957, pp.204-212, and Noel P. Gist and William S. Bennett, Jr., "Aspirations of Negro and White Students," Social Forces, 42, 1963, pp.40-49.

[4] Further, many who plan to go, do not do so. This was true of 35 per cent of the high school students included in a national study embracing 516 schools. See Background Factors Relating to College Plans and College Enrollment Among Public High School Students, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J., 1957.

Given the indicated distinctions, an investigator is confronted, among other matters, with the important question of the grade level at which students can be expected to be able to reply meaningfully to a question such as "How far in school do you really plan to go?"[1] More generally, however, recognition of the distinctions will force greater clarity on investigators with respect to what they are proposing to study.[2] Wishes, desires, intentions, expectations, and plans may be correlated but they are not one and the same phenomenon.

In the present research, level of educational aspiration--as measured by the specification of a desired goal and the intensity with which it is desired--connotes an individual's relatively firm evaluation (positive or negative) of the desirability for him of an event (e.g., going to college or graduating from college) which lies in the future.[3] As a construct, level of aspiration is not directly observable but persons can report their aspirations, thus making it possible to investigate individual or group differences in aspirations and the conditions determining them.

The significance of the study of aspirations is that they can be presumed to act as powerful motivators of behavior we wish to explain such as dropping out of high school or not going to college.[4] This presumption is valid, of course, only if the activities in which individuals are currently engaged are seen as salient for the aspirations in question. It might appear that a second necessary condition for the influence of aspirations on behavior would be that they be perceived as having the possibility of fulfillment. Although aspirations so perceived would indeed be expected to motivate behavior directed at the achievement of the goal, aspirations which are assumed to be beyond realization may also influence behavior.[5] In the latter case, however, the form and direction of behavior would be dependent on individuals' mode of reaction to frustration. The concept of aspirations could be useful here in accounting for actions which otherwise might be inexplicable or misinterpreted, such as withdrawal, rebelliousness, or delinquency.

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[1] That is if "plan" is intended to be construed in the literal sense of the word.

[2] The importance of making the distinctions has been stressed by Stephenson, among others. Op.cit., p.205.

[3] The requirement that aspirations be relatively firm or stabilized raises the interesting empirical question of the age by which this occurs for various kinds of aspirations.

[4] In accounting for behavior, aspirations are to be regarded, of course, as necessary rather than sufficient conditions.

[5] See Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1957, Rev.Ed., pp.131-195.

In studying the level of aspiration of students completing the eighth grade--the subjects of our research--we have assumed that by this stage of their life most of them have developed a relatively firm sense of how much formal education they desire and how strongly they desire it. We have further assumed that by the end of the eighth grade the majority of students appreciate that school is relevant for them if they have higher educational aspirations and less relevant if they have lower aspirations. With respect to scholastic effort it would be expected that the aspirations of the former would be positively motivating and that the aspirations of the latter would be neutral or negative in their effect.

Determinants of Level of Educational Aspiration

Adolescents' conceptions of how far they wish to go in school are linked, of course, to the particular conception of the life they wish to lead as adults. This life conception embraces ideas, vague to precise, about particular spheres of achievement (intellectual, economic, aesthetic, or political) and about occupation, income, style of life, marriage, etc. The views which adolescents have of these interrelated sectors of their future undoubtedly play a large part in determining and sustaining their educational aspirations. And these views tend to be shaped from early years on in myriad and subtle ways by the homes in which they are reared, by emotional interaction with parents and by the latter's continuous implicit and explicit communication of values. (The relative significance accorded formal education is an attitude which cross-cuts many of these values.) Familial influences, in turn, are reinforced by children's interaction with peers and other adults whose values and style of life are similar to their own and those of their parents.

Within societies such as ours, families vary considerably in what they value. This variation is roughly associated with differences in the occupation (its prestige and income level) and education of their family heads, attributes commonly used for ranking families in terms of social class position. When families are ranked in this way we accordingly find a correlation between their social class position and the educational aspirations or plans of their children. Children of upper- and middle-class families are likely to want to go to college whereas those of working-class background are less likely to conceive of a college education as desirable either as an end in itself or for the realization of one or another of their life goals.

The association between social class and children's aspirations while quite close by no means accounts for all the observed variation in children's aspirations. Some from middle-class families do not aspire to go to college whereas some from working-class families do. The sources of these intra-class differences--and of inter-class differences as well--have been the object of study of a number of investigations.[1] The particular interest of the present research was in the extent to which these differences might be explained by the schools which children attend and by the educational aspirations which their parents have for them.

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[1] Some of these studies are cited in Chapter 2.

One important respect in which high schools differ is in the educational aspirations of their student bodies.[1] This follows from the fact that due to "...the sifting of like social types into specific zones within an urbanized area school districting tends to segregate youth of different social strata."[2] Consequently, working-class boys are likely to attend a school whose students are predominantly of working-class background and who, therefore, tend to have a lower modal level of educational aspiration. Similarly, middle- and upper-class boys are likely to be in a school with children of the same social-class position who typically have higher aspirations.

For most children their de facto school segregation by social class tends to make the dominant influence of school consistent with that of their family. Middle-class children come to the school situation with a positive attitude towards educational achievement which has been formed and is continuously supported by a complex of family influences. In their middle-class schools they constitute the majority of the student body, having in common a conception of the future in which a college education figures as an essential component. This view is reinforced in their interaction with one another and by the expectations of their teachers and counselors. Highly significant, too, for the continued maintenance of their aspirations is the absence of any potent challenge to their assumption that going to college is necessary and important and that they have the necessary intellectual and financial resources.

A child from a working-class family, on the other hand, is likely to find himself in a high school in which most of the other children are from the same--or a contiguous--social stratum. The class-linked family influences to which they have been exposed are not likely to have generated in them a strong desire for a college education. Few will have learned in their homes to enjoy the satisfaction of reading or more generally the pleasure of intellectual and cultural interests. And few will have been stimulated to aspire toward an occupational level or toward other life goals the achievement of which requires that they go to college. Moreover in their earlier school years many of them will have been led to conclude that they lacked the aptitude for success in academic studies,[3] a conclusion strengthened by the relatively low grades they tend to receive in their later school years.

---

[1] Elementary schools as well as high schools may differ in this regard but these do not concern us here.

[2] Alan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, 24, 1959, p.837

[3] Failing, perhaps, to give sufficient weight to lack of interest and motivation as the possible explanation for their low or mediocre grades.

Under these circumstances teachers and others concerned with raising the level of aspiration of adolescents in working-class schools face a formidable task. They must challenge and change opposing values and self-conceptions in which the children are consistently supported by a majority of their peers and their parents. That this change is probably infrequently effected is, consequently, not surprising.

It may be said, therefore, that middle-class schools succeed in maintaining and nourishing the educational aspirations of their middle-class students and that working-class schools--to the extent that they try--meet with rather little success in changing the educational goals of their working-class students. These results are understandable and predictable.

More problematic is the question of whether a school influences those of its students who have aspirations which initially differ from the modal level of aspiration of the student body. For example, will the college-going aspiration of a middle-class boy be jeopardized if the residential location of his family places him in a working-class school? Or will a working-class boy with no ambition for a college education be likely to develop this aspiration if his family's residence places him in a middle-class school? It should be clear that in both of the foregoing cases, the question at issue is not whether the climate of aspiration of schools can reinforce pre-existing attitudes, dispositions or values but whether it can change them. The probability of the former is more readily granted. The middle-class boy who is uncertain as to his desire for college or only mildly attracted by the prospect may very well be disposed to settle for less if he is in a working-class school but be more strongly drawn to college if he is in a middle-class school. Similar consequences may follow for a working-class boy who is somewhat wavering in his aspirations.[1] In these instances we are in effect positing a relatively unstable aspiration level and making the assumption that given this condition individuals are susceptible to the influence of the modal level of aspiration of their schools.

When we envisage, however, a minority of students with firm aspirations which differ from those of the larger part of the student body the influence of the latter on the former would appear to be less probable. Looking first at middle-class students in a working-class school, it may be supposed that a number of conditions would tend to immunize them from the influence of the lower aspiration level of their working-class peers. Firstly, parental sensitivity to the possibility of this influence would lead their parents--if they indeed adhere to the modal values of their stratum--to extend themselves to insure the maintenance of their children's high level of aspiration. Secondly, the interest and encouragement of teachers are likely to be disproportionately directed to the students with the higher aspirations. And thirdly, the middle-class students are likely to conceive of themselves as a distinct sub-group and to be perceived as such by the other students. This of course would increase the interaction of the middle-class students with one another and decrease their interaction with, and the probability of their being influenced by, students from lower strata. In general, then, the conditions operating to sustain the aspirations of middle-class students would seem to make it unlikely that their aspirations would be lowered as a consequence of their being in a working-class school.

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[1] The indicated consequences would be more likely to ensue for both the working-class and middle-class boy if they were compatible with--or unopposed by--the aspirations their parents had for them.

What might appear more probable is that the aspirations of working-class youths would be raised by their being in a middle-class school. In this case the influence of teachers and of the middle-class student majority tend to converge and the critical factor is the direction of parental influence. Since we are here considering working-class youth with low aspirations it can be assumed that their aspirations reflect those which their parents have for them. Consequently, a change in the aspirations of working-class students in a middle-class school must be effected in the face of parental opposition, discouragement, or disinterest. At best a change in level of aspiration is probably not easily accomplished. Among other things, it requires a change in self-conception and a reformulation of life goals. And for the working-class youth it may entail estrangement from peers of his own social class. If to these difficulties there be added parental disapproval of, or lack of sympathy with the higher level of aspiration, the likelihood of such a change in working-class youth as a consequence of the influence of a middle-class school would seem to be small.[1]

There are, of course, working-class youth with high aspirations in working-class as well as in middle-class schools. These are the more ambitious young people of their social class and it is a reasonable presumption that just as the educational aspirations of the more typical members of their social class are originally determined by familial influence so are those of the upwardly-mobile, working-class youth. If this is a valid presumption one would expect to find that parents of the latter differ in some significant respects from the modal members of their class. Thus, if parents' educational aspirations for their children be thought of as an indication of some central values they have brought to bear on their children it would be expected that parents of the more ambitious working-class youth would tend to have high aspirations for them, differing in this regard from the parents of children with low aspirations.[2] If then working-class youth with high educational aspirations, whether they are in a working- or middle-class school, prove to be those whose parents are ambitious for them this would argue for the primacy of the home over the school in the initial determination of their aspiration level. It might even be supposed that in some instances high-aspiring working-class youth in a middle-class school are in such a school because their parents' aspirations for them--and related values--led them to establish residence in an area which promised better educational facilities for their children.[1]

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[1] For the upwardly-mobile working-class youth the schools "...are more of a means than an initiator of ascent." Joseph A. Kahl,"Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys", Harvard Educational Review, 23, No.3, 1953, p.203.

[2] See Kahl, op.cit.

The argument advanced for the primacy of home over school influence on the aspirations of working-class youth holds for the aspirations of upper- and middle-class youth as well. If the great majority of the latter have high aspirations it is primarily because of the familial influences which are symbolized by the high aspirations which upper- and middle-class parents typically have for their children. It therefore might be expected that the children of the higher social strata who are atypical in having low educational aspirations would tend to be the offspring of parents who themselves deviate from the core values associated with the social class to which they ostensibly belong. And as deviant or marginal members of their class their influence on their children would not be unequivocally in the direction of high educational aspirations. Consequently, it might be supposed that middle-class children with low aspirations, whether attending a middle- or working-class school, would be more likely than their social-class peers with high aspirations to think of their parents as having low aspirations for them. Some low-aspiring, middle-class youth who find themselves in a working-class school may even correctly perceive their attendance at such a school as an implicit confirmation of their conception of their parents' aspirations for them.

The case developed here for the influence of children's families on their aspirations should not be construed as implying that children inevitably and invariably assimilate the values of their parents and act accordingly. It may be hypothesized that the more conformist the personalities of children and the more positive their relationship with their parents the greater the probability that this will occur. (The latter assumption is supported by our research, as is shown in Chapter 6.) But presumably because of the absence of these conditions or due to other factors there are some children who do not share their parents' high aspirations for them and others who set their sights high despite the low aspirations their parents have for them. Some of these children whose aspirations are not in accord with those of their parents may be strengthened in their position by forces operative in the school situation. If disposed to reject high parental aspirations, the child in a working-class school can count on the support of the majority of his fellow students; and if disposed not to adopt low parental aspirations, a child in a middle-class school can count on the help and encouragement of teachers and of many of the students.

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[1] We have often observed, albeit unsystematically, that the quality of particular schools is highly salient for many middle-class parents. Given their greater financial means, and thus their greater freedom of choice, quality of schools becomes a prime determinant in their choice of residence. In some regions of the country, of course, the choice parents entertain is between the alternatives of sending their children to private or preparatory schools or having them attend public schools. Upper-class parents seldom question that their children will attend private, prestigious schools. Middle-class parents will frequently sacrifice to send their children to a private school when their enforced residence is in a district having schools they regard as jeopardizing the long range educational goals they have for their children.

We have argued above for the assumption, empirically tested and supported by our research--as will be seen in subsequent chapters--that the climate of aspiration of the schools attended by adolescents does not independently influence their aspirations. It should be said that the view that schools change the aspirations of their students has some inferential support in the findings of some past research. In arguing for the assumption of school influence, Wilson sees the problem as a question of "...the derivation of values from the immediate social milieu--the climate of the school society."[1] He notes that, "A variety of experimental and descriptive investigations have demonstrated the influence of social context upon judgments, attitudes, and aspirations."[2] None of the studies to which he refers, however, closely parallels the school situation of his or our research. Most apposite of the studies cited are those which found that the climates of colleges can change the political and social attitudes of some students.[3] This finding suggests that the climate of aspiration of high schools may possibly change the aspirations of some students. It should not be overlooked, however, that a critical difference between college and high school students may yield divergent results in studies of the extent to which they can be influenced by their "immediate social milieu." This influence in important matters such as aspirations may be of lesser magnitude, if not entirely absent, for high school students who, living at home, may be continuously confronted by counteracting pressures from their families.

The Study of School Adjustment

The second major objective of our research was to test the hypothesis that the adjustment of boys and girls in school is positively associated with the social class position of their families. The purpose of this study was to test by systematic, empirical data the prevailing conception in the literature of education and social science--supported largely by qualitative, impressionistic evidence--that children of working-class families are more maladjusted in school than those of middle-class background. This view derives from the assumption that the school is an organization staffed by middle-class personnel charged with teaching and upholding the values and norms of the middle-class

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[1] Op.cit., p.836.

[2] Ibid., p.836.

[3] Ibid., p.836. See fn.5 for the works cited.

segment of society.[1] It consequently is presumed that the school places a premium on behavior and achievement more compatible with the upbringing and motivation of middle-class children than with that of children from working-class families. For the latter, therefore, school is supposedly a situation in which they tend to feel inferior and inadequate, misunderstood and discriminated against by their teachers and constrained by a discipline and demands which are at variance with those imposed upon them by their families. In short, working-class children are assumed to find school a much less congenial and rewarding experience than do middle-class children. It is these differences between children in their feelings about and reactions to school which are here--for lack of a better term--being subsumed under the rubric of adjustment.

The foregoing assumptions about social class differences in children's school adjustment are consistent and, on the face of it, plausible. There are, however, two considerations which are often overlooked in discussions of the question. First, there is the fact that typically children are in schools in which the social origin of the majority of the student body is similar to their own. Most working-class children then are in schools with a predominantly working-class student body, at least until the later years of high school. Consequently, the standards of achievement and behavior by which they measure themselves and the judgments they value, are likely to be those of their working-class peers rather than the standards and judgments of their teachers or the minority of middle-class pupils in their school. Insofar as this occurs it might attenuate the presumed negative impact of the school on working-class children. A second aspect of the school situation which is undoubtedly of great significance in children's feelings about school is the opportunity it continuously affords them for meeting and associating with congenial peers. This dimension of school experience could be especially rewarding to working-class children if, in fact, they find relatively little gratification in the intellectual tasks set them by the school. The satisfaction inherent in interaction with their peers in informal groups--in class as well as out of it--is like that enjoyed by factory or clerical workers engaged in an activity which has little intrinsic appeal for them. This fringe benefit of school--like that of work--may serve to make school much more tolerable and attractive for working-class children than it is thought to be.

With these two considerations in mind the argument for social class differences in school adjustment becomes less convincing. If there are such differences they may be smaller than is often assumed. Moreover, the likelihood of these differences would appear to be greater when comparisons are being made between children in a middle-class school where the working-class children constitute a distinct minority. By the same token, a middle-class minority in a working-class school might be expected to be more poorly adjusted than the working-class majority. Greater academic success and possibly favored treatment by teachers, however, may operate as a countervailing influence in the adjustment of the middle-class minority.

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[1] An apt comment on what determines some prominent characteristics of the school has been made by Dahlke. We quote: "A current interpretation of the public school is that it merely reflects and upholds middle-class values. The norms apparently support this idea, but continuity of school and middle-class norms is incidental. Many of the norms and even value emphases occur not because of middle-class influence but because the school is a group. Emphasis on work, punctuality, getting the job done, control of aggression, avoidance of conflict, and being relatively quiet are necessary conditions if any group is to persist." Dahlke, H.O., Values in Culture and Classroom, New York: Harper, 1958. p.253.

One variable in school experience at the high school level should be noted because of its possible differential consequences for working-class and middle-class youth. This is the extent to which the academic activity required by the school is perceived by students as relevant to their post-high school plans. Stinchcombe has argued that "Whenever a student perceives that he does not get a status increment from better current performance, current performance becomes senseless. . . . He reacts negatively to a conformity that has nothing substantial to offer."[1] Since, in Stinchcombe's terms, "articulation of post-high school status with present academic activity" would be less characteristic of working-class youth than of those from middle-class families, the former might be expected to be the more unhappy (maladjusted) in school because of its apparent senselessness for them.[2]

Our reasoning about social class differences in school adjustment prompted us to organize our data with a view to examining the relation between social class and adjustment not only for all subjects combined but also in terms of whether they were attending a school which was predominantly of middle-class or working-class composition. This was done for boys and girls separately. Since the Negro subjects of our study were from a virtually all-Negro school the data on their school adjustment was used primarily to test the hypothesis that their reaction to school did not differ from that of white adolescents of comparable family background attending schools in which the majority of children were from working-class families.

Significance of the Research

The two major problems dealt with in our research have been described above. Some comment is now in order on the theoretical and practical implications of the empirical study of the two problems.

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[1] Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Social Sources of Rebellion in a High School, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1960, p.5.

[2] Stinchcombe's study which focused on rebellious behavior found social class differences in this regard for girls but not for boys. See Chapter 2 for a description of his study.

Significance of the Study of School Adjustment

It should be said that our study of social class differences in school adjustment was frankly descriptive rather than explanatory. No attempt was made to explain observed differences. Its aim was simply to add to the rather meagre quantum of empirical data on the important question at issue. The question is significant because of its relevance for our knowledge of the effects of social stratification and because of its implications for education. Many teachers at present come to working-class schools with a perspective on their work which is shaped largely by the presumption that most working-class children are antagonistic to school, unhappy in it, and anxious to leave as quickly as they can. If the evidence of research should indicate little basis for this view it could contribute to a change in the perspective of teachers and the behavioral set associated with it. This, in turn, could have important consequences for both teachers and pupils.

Significance of the Study of Aspirations

The study of aspirations reported in chapters which follow has both theoretical significance and practical implications. Its theoretical significance crosscuts two areas of interest to social scientists, namely social stratification and the influence of social contexts on the attitudes, values and behavior of individuals. Its practical implications pertain to pressing current questions about how students may be affected by the character of the student body of the schools they attend.

Students of stratification are interested in educational aspirations because of the critical role of education--through its association with occupation, income, style of life, etc.--in determining the positions which persons occupy in the social hierarchy. They are therefore concerned with the question of who gets educated and why? To be sure, educational aspirations cannot be equated with educational achievement. But for a relatively open society, it is a reasonable assumption that variation in the level of educational aspiration accounts in part for differences between and within social classes in the educational attainment of their members. This assumption is supported by the fact that inter- and intra-class differences in both the value imputed to education[1] and in educational aspirations[2] parallel the differences which have been noted in educational attainment.

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[1] See Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social-Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Class, Status and Power, Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Eds.), The Free Press, Glencoe, pp.426-441.

[2] See the review in Chapter 2 (this report) of studies of educational aspiration. See, too, Chapter 4 for evidence in the present study of the association between social class and aspirations.

The study of educational aspirations described in this report provides the student of stratification with further evidence for the view that values transmitted from parents to children contribute to the intergenerational continuity of social class position. We find, as have other investigators, that middle-class parents tend to have higher aspirations for their children than working-class parents and that children of both classes tend to have aspirations congruent with those their parents have for them. If, then, it be assumed that aspirations of youth are roughly predictive of their educational (and occupational) attainment it follows that value differences between the classes[1] are a factor which serves to perpetuate the ordering of the classes in the social hierarchy.

Values and aspirations are not, of course, of themselves sufficient for high achievement. They are, however, essential for middle-class youth if they are to maintain their class position and even more so for working-class youth if they are to change theirs. If, as Hyman suggests, the value system of the latter ". . . arises out of a realistic appraisal of reality. . ."[2] the fact of upward mobility on the part of some members of the working-class makes all the more intriguing the question of the nature of the sources of motivation for this ascent.

Some of the research on this question is reviewed in Chapter 2. The present study addresses itself to the problem--and the parallel problem of downward mobility--in that it tests the proposition that the social class composition of a school--and the attendant modal level of aspiration of its student body--can change the level of educational aspiration which some students bring to the school. As pointed out earlier, this proposition asserts in effect that working-class youth in a middle-class school can be led to adopt the higher level of aspiration which characterizes the majority of the students. Similarly the proposition asserts that the higher aspirations of middle-class youth in a working-class school can be depressed to the lower level aspired to by the bulk of the student body. Research on this proposition consequently may add to our knowledge of the conditions of upward and downward mobility.

If it be presumed that the hypothesized influence of a school derives primarily from its "climate of aspiration" our study of aspirations also may be regarded as falling in a second area of interest to social science, to wit the question of how the social context in which individuals find themselves[3] affects their judgments, values, aspirations, etc.

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[1] The nature of social classes is by no means a settled question in the field of social stratification. Our use of the term "social class" should not be taken to imply that we are assuming classes to be real and discrete entities. Rather we are positing that families within a given range of the socio-economic hierarchy are likely to be relatively homogeneous with respect to attitudes, values, beliefs and behavior.

[2] Ibid., p.427.

[3] Their "immediate social milieu", as Wilson has called it. Op.cit., p.836.

Laboratory studies have demonstrated that the judgments--and perhaps perceptions--of individuals are susceptible to the influence of even small artificially constituted groups.[1] Other research has shown that social and political attitudes of college students can change in the direction of those held by a substantial number of their fellow students.[2] The present study is an addition to the few which have concerned themselves with group influence on younger adolescents.[3] These investigations may be thought of as testing the limits of the influence of social context since they deal with persons confronted with the conflicting pressures of the immediate social milieu (the school) and that of their families.

Research on the influence of the particular schools they attend has practical implications for an important question currently engaging the serious attention of educators and of parents of school-age children and of those concerned with the impact on the labor force of automation and demands for manpower having increasing technical skills. The question is how to raise the level of educational aspiration and attainment of some segments of our society.

Although the proportion of boys and girls completing high school has been rising for decades, young people continue to drop out of high school in large numbers and the great majority never enter college. Both the drop-outs and non-college attenders--and now even those who fail to complete college--have in recent years evoked national concern. The growing automation of the economy is raising the level of education and training required of the labor force, if our technology is to be adequately manned, with the result that even a high school education is becoming an inadequate guarantee of employment or employability. Apart from the grave problems for individuals and society raised by this condition, concern with the uneducated and undereducated has been accentuated by a sharpened awareness of our failure to fully utilize our human resources and by the greater stress now being placed on the equality of opportunity for all which is so central to the American creed. These converging trends have given impetus to the search for educational programs which can motivate Negro and white working-class children, who constitute the majority of school drop-outs, to complete high school and, if they have the aptitude, to go on to college.

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[1] Solomon Asch, "Studies of Independence and Submission to Group Pressure: A Minority of One Against a Unanimous Majority", Psychological Monographs, 70, 1956.

[2] See Theodore M. Newcomb, "Attitude Development as a Function of Reference Groups: The Bennington Study," in Readings in Social Psychology, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (Eds.), Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1958, pp.265-275.

[3] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of some of these studies.

Since our study investigated the influence of school climates on the educational aspirations of eighth grade boys and girls its results, although requiring additional research before they can be accepted as conclusive[1], have some bearing on the question of what might be done to raise the aspirations of many children of the lower classes to a level commensurate with their academic aptitude.

Briefly stated the burden of our findings is that the educational climate of a school does not alter, either upwards or downwards, the aspirations of adolescent boys or girls, as measured by their educational goal and the intensity of their desire for college.[2] What appear to be decisive are home influences--as indexed by parental aspirations for a child--which presumably generate and sustain a relatively low or high aspiration in the child.[3] The school climate may have the very important consequence of reinforcing the child's aspiration--whether it be high or low--but judging by our results it does not change it. This at least appears to be the case for the eighth graders whom we studied. Whether in middle-class or working-class schools, boys and girls, Negro and white, were more likely to have high educational aspirations (as we have measured them) if their parents had high aspirations for them.[4] It remains for future research to confirm these results and to determine whether they can be generalized for children in the lower and higher school grades or for those in schools which deliberately and systematically attempt to influence children's educational motivation and aspiration.

If subsequent investigations support our results the research findings on this problem should strengthen the position of educators who, having learned from experience the powerful leverage exerted on the child by the home, are stressing the signal importance of school and community programs aimed at the modification of the educational values of parents whose children are likely to be uneducated or undereducated. And since aspirations and general educational motivation are intimately connected, changes in parental educational values would have, at the same time, an impact on children's motivation to learn and on their aspirations.

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[1] Some such additonal research is indicated in Chapter 10.

[2] There is some indication in Wilson's study (op.cit.) of boys that the school may influence their educational goal. The extent of influence observed in our study is much less for boys and virtually none is indicated for girls. See Chapter 4 of this report for a detailed comparison of the two studies.

[3] This conclusion rests on children's reports of their parents' aspirations for them. The conclusion, therefore, must be regarded as tentative until the accuracy of such reports is empirically demonstrated. See Chapter 9 for a discussion of this issue.

[4] As reported by the children.

CHAPTER 2

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

This chapter describes previous studies of the two major problems dealt with in the present investigation. The more relevant studies are considered at greater length so that their procedures and findings can be compared with those of the present research.

Studies of Aspirations

Subsequent chapters will show that the educational aspirations their parents have for them is the major factor accounting for the variation in the aspirations of the eighth grade boys and girls whom we studied. In reviewing the literature on aspirations we, therefore, turn first to those studies which concerned themselves explicitly with this variable.[1] We then discuss the few studies which have focused on the influence of the schools they attend on children's aspirations. Finally, we present a brief review of the sparse literature on racial differences in aspirations.

Influence of Parents' Aspirations

An early exploratory study which directed attention to the influence of parents on children's aspirations was reported by Kahl[2] in 1953. This frequently cited work entailed intensive interviews with 24 boys (from sophomore and junior classes) and their parents. All 24 had high I.Q. scores and their fathers were petty white collar, skilled or semi-skilled workers. Half the boys were in the college preparatory course and definitely planned to go to college whereas the other half were not preparing for college and were not planning to go. The purpose of Kahl's interviews with this small sample of boys and their parents was to attempt to discover what might explain the difference in the aspiration level of two such groups of boys. His interview material disclosed that the decisive factor was parental pressure, ". . . a clear and overt attempt by either or both parents to influence their son to go to college."[1] Parents who believed in the value of "getting ahead" started to apply pressure early in their son's school career. "They encouraged high marks, they paid attention to what was happening at school, they stressed that good performance was necessary for occupational success, they suggested various occupations that would be good for their sons."[2] Kahl accordingly concluded unequivocally that parental pressure was the major difference between the intelligent "common man" boy who was college oriented in high school and the one who was not.

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[1] All studies of the relation between social class and children's aspirations implicitly take account of parental aspirations since social class, among other things, is an indicator of family influence. This is especially the case with research on social class and aspirations which holds constant intelligence or academic aptitude. In this connection see William H. Sewell, Archie O. Haller and Murray A. Straus, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspiration," American Sociological Review, 22, 1957, pp.67-73.

[2] Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," Harvard Educational Review, 23, No. 3, 1953, pp.186-203.

More structured than Kahl's study was Cohen's investigation of parental influence on boys' educational plans.[3] Cohen's interest was in extending our ". . .knowledge about the process of social mobility, through examination of some of the ways in which parents influence their sons toward or away from education beyond high school."[4] With this end in mind a standardized interview was administered to the mothers and fathers of two groups of fifty high school boys (junior and seniors) of working-class background, one of which was definitely planning to go to college (mobile) and the other (non-mobile) of which was definitely planning not to go. The two groups of boys were matched on intelligence, ethnic group and school.[5]

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[1] Ibid., p.189. Kahl notes, however, that some of the relationship which he reports between parental pressure and sons' aspirations may be due to contamination since in most cases the aspiration of the son was known when parental pressures were being rated. Ibid., fn.3.

[2] Ibid., p.201.

[3] Elizabeth G. Cohen, Parental Factors in Educational Mobility, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Radcliffe College, 1958.

[4] Ibid., p.132.

[5] Cohen points out that ". . .a possible limitation of the study lies in the fact that parents were interviewed at a time when the decision about college had already been made; we are not completely certain, therefore, whether the attitudes and behavior revealed by the subject also existed prior to the boy's decision." Ibid., p.132.

A number of Cohen's findings are of general, if not specific, relevance to the concern of the present study with the influence of parental aspirations on children's aspirations. Thus, she found that parents of mobile sons showed a higher degree of favorability toward a college education than parents of non-mobile boys. Consistent with this was the finding that, "Parents of mobile sons reported more deliberate encouragement of upward mobility through educational channels, starting in the boy's childhood."[1] A related finding was that, "Parents of mobile sons were more likely to have a middle class occupational aspiration for their sons."[2]

Cohen's findings are essentially in accord with the conclusions reached by Kahl. One significant divergence is Cohen's finding that parents of boys who were planning on college showed no more concern about their high school grades than the parents of boys who were planning not to go. Cohen advances a plausible explanation of this unexpected finding.

> She suggests that the important parental variables relating to attitude toward school work are those which operate at a very early period and are crucial in the formation of the child's whole attitude toward school. This interpretation is made on the grounds that school performance has been found to be predictive of mobility from the fourth grade onward and that school performance is related to a general attitude toward the importance of school on the part of the boy. Once this attitude has been formed, it is possible that later responses of the parents to poor school performance no longer have a relationship to mobility, because so many of the parents of non-mobile boys are trying to inspire their sons too late in the process, while parents of mobile boys no longer feel that it is necessary to take an active part in controlling the boy's school behavior.[3]

One of the findings of a survey study by Stinchcombe[4] "supports and extends the results" obtained by Kahl and Cohen on the relation between parental aspirations and the upward mobility of working-class boys. This was a study of about 1600 boys and girls in a high school (grades 9-12) located in a logging and sawmill town of about 4,000 population. About two-thirds of the students came to school from surrounding small towns and rural areas.

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[1] Ibid., p.136.

[2] Ibid., p.136.

[3] Ibid., pp.137-138.

[4] Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Social Sources of Rebellion in a High School, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1960.

Parental attitudes to college were measured by responses to the question, Do your parents urge you to go to college and to take college preparatory subjects in high school? (Yes, strongly urge; yes, moderately urge; no, leave it to my own decision; no,urge me to get a job; don't know). Stinchcombe's data revealed that the percentage of boys and girls who reported their parents as strongly urging college was greater among those who "envisioned professional futures" for themselves, rather than occupations of lesser status. This relationship held not only for students from working-class families but also for those of lower-middle and upper-middle class background.[1] Strong parental urging also varied directly with social class among students who did not anticipate being in a professional occupation.[2]

A third study which collected data from parents was made primarily to check on the reliability of information collected by questionnaire from 93 per cent of all Minnesota boys and girls who at the time of the research were high school seniors. This study, by Ralph F. Berdie[3], was concerned with the determinants of students' plans to attend college and whether they did so. Among the determinants investigated were parental influence and the cultural, as distinguished from the economic, status of the home. The interview segment of the research was limited to parents of high school seniors who lived in one small town in Minnesota. In all, 90 parents were interviewed, only one for each child, the selection of father or mother being randomly made. In addition to serving as a check on the questionnaire data the interviews were intended to collect data on parents' attitude to college, their perception of factors influencing their children's post high-school plans, etc.

> Perhaps the most important finding resulting from this study [the interviews with the parents] is the difference between the parents of college-planning children and of noncollege-planning children in their perceptions of the advantages of a college education. Although both groups of parents were equally cognizant that a college education is ultimately financially rewarding, the parents of the children planning to attend college emphasized the values of general education to the personal development of the student.[4]

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[1] _Ibid._, pp.137-138.

[2] _Ibid._, p.137.

[3] _After High School - What?_ University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1954.

[4] _Ibid._, p.176.

The results of the statistical analysis attest further to the influence of the home. We quote a summary of the findings.

> In general, with both college aptitude and economic status held relatively constant, family attitudes and home cultural influences related to plans to attend college can be identified. A child coming from a home with many books will be more likely to plan to attend college than a child of similar ability coming from a home with similar economic resources but having few books. A family subscribing to many magazines is more likely to have a child who plans to attend college than an otherwise similar family subscribing to few or no magazines. Parents active in community organizations, particularly those related to schools, such as parent-teachers associations, are more likely to have children who plan to attend college than otherwise similar parents who do not participate in such community activities. Parents who have progressed far in school, particularly those who have attended college, are more likely to have children who plan to attend college than parents in similar occupations who have not attended college. This is true even when the children have comparable ability. Closely related to this is the parents' attitude toward college as perceived by the child. Children planning to attend college reported that their parents were more favorable to the idea of college than did children who had other plans.[1]

A number of other large survey studies were concerned to some extent with parental influence on children's educational aspirations. One of these, a Canadian project[2], is spoken of as being almost a census in its completeness of coverage. The group studied consisted of 9,573 seniors (boys and girls) in the public and private secondary schools of Ontario in 1955-56.

The questionnaire filled out by these students included the item, How do your parents or guardians feel about your getting a university education? (Strongly in favor, moderately in favor, indifferent, opposed, don't know.) Responses to this question were found to be closely associated with the students' academic plans. "Of the students who definitely intended to go to university, 84 per cent said their parents were strongly in favor. The corresponding percentages for those who definitely did not intend to go and for those uncertain about going were 18 per cent and 42 per cent."[3] The data also showed that parental attitudes were associated with whether their sons and daughters, in fact, did attend university.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p.64.

[2] W.G. Fleming, Background and Personality Factors Associated With Educational and Occupational Plans and Careers of Ontario Grade 13 Students, Department of Educational Research, Ontario College of Education, University of Toronto, 1957.

[3] Ibid., p.10. The data are not reported for boys and girls separately. Much less than 1 per cent of the total group indicated that their father and mother differed in their attitude.

The attitudes of parents toward higher education for their children (like parental aspirations for their children) are of interest in research on the aspirations of young people because of the assumption that parental attitudes are an indication of a complex of familial values and experiences to which their children have been exposed. That parental attitudes may be so construed is suggested by the finding in the Ontario study that teachers' estimate of the influence of the home on the students' inclination to attend university[2] was correlated with whether they later went. Almost 50 per cent of those whose home environment was rated as favorable to university attendance actually went in contrast to 9 per cent of those whose home environment was considered unfavorable.[3]

Another large scale survey of educational aspirations of boys and girls is that reported by Glen H. Elder, Jr.[4] Questionnaire data were obtained in this study from some 25,000 junior high school and senior high school students in North Carolina and Ohio; one city of over 100,000 population, a small city, and several rural counties were included from each state.[5] The data collected from this large sample permitted a very comprehensive analysis of familial influences on adolescents' motivation and achievement, and on their educational and occupational aspirations. Our discussion of the findings here is restricted, however, to those bearing more directly on the relation of parents' and children's educational aspirations.

Respondents' college plans were indicated by their response to the following question: What do you think the chances are that you will go on to college? (I expect to go, probably will go, unsure, probably will not go, I definitely will not go.)[6] Parental educational goals were measured by the question, How do your parents feel about you going to college?

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[1] Ibid., p.10.

[2] The question asked of the teachers was, What influence do you think the attitudes of the people in the student's home environment have on his inclination to attend university? (Favorable, neutral, unfavorable, don't know.)

[3] Ibid., p.11.

[4] Adolescent Achievement and Mobility Aspirations, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1962. This study was part of a large project carried out by Elder and Charles E. Bowerman.

[5] The findings reported in Elder's monograph are based on the analysis of the responses of a random subsample of 40 per cent of the 7th to 9th grade students and 60 per cent of the 10th to 12th grade students in the total sample.

[6] Ibid., p.122.

(They insist I go, prefer me to go but let me decide, they don't care, rather I didn't go but would let me go, they won't let me go.)[1] As presented by Elder, the relation between parental goals for their children and the children's own college plans--and other analyses involving parental goals as a variable--appears to be obscured by the fact that parents are classified as having college as a goal for their child only if they were described as insisting that the child go to college.[2] Since all other parents are grouped together this treats parents described as "preferring their child to go to college but letting him decide" as having the same goal as those who are described as "not letting the child go." The two-fold classification of parents' goals (insist that child go to college vs. all others) was used because all but a small percentage of children reported either that their parents insisted they go or that they preferred them to go.[3] This justification notwithstanding we believe the wording of the response categories may very possibly have reduced the discriminating power of the question used as a measure of parents' educational goals for their children. We, therefore, are omitting any discussion of the findings derived from it.

A study by David J. Bordua[4] was directly concerned with the influence of parents' aspirations on their children's aspirations. Questionnaire data were collected from 1529 boys and girls in the ninth through the twelfth grades in two small cities in Massachusetts. Parents' aspirations were measured by the question, Do your parents want you to go to college? (Yes, they stress it a lot; yes, they stress it somewhat; yes, but they seldom mention it; no, they don't care one way or the other; no, they would rather I didn't go.)[5] Aspirations of the subjects were given by their response to the question, Do you plan to go to college? (Yes, definitely; perhaps, not decided yet; no.)[6]

Like other investigators Bordua found that the familial influences on children's aspirations, as indexed by parental attitudes to their going to college, are strongly correlated with the children's educational plans. This correlation obtained for boys and girls. We quote Bordua's succintly stated conclusions:

> We have seen that sex, religious affiliation, and socio-economic status are all related to the presence or absence

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[1] Ibid., p.123.

[2] Ibid., p.158. This analysis was limited to adolescents in grades 10 through 12.

[3] Personal communication to the authors.

[4] "Educational Aspirations and Parental Stress on College," Social Forces, 38, 1960, pp.262-69.

[5] Ibid., p.264.

[6] Ibid., p.264.

> of college plans among our urban New England ninth to twelfth graders. We have also seen that these relationships are mutually independent. Following much recent literature on the importance of student motivation derived from values and socialization practices we asked whether these social group differences could be accounted for by the factor of parental stress on college.
>
> The answer varied somewhat depending on the specific relationship. The originally clearly greater college orientation of males was substantially reversed with lingering evidence that female predominance occurs more at high stress levels and male predominance more at lower stress levels.
>
> The effects of religious affiliation and socio-economic status were both reduced, the latter drastically, by introduction of the parental stress control. In both cases, however, there is a residual effect. Worthy of special mention is the tenacity of the difference between Jewish and non-Jewish respondents.[1]

Another questionnaire study which addressed itself to the appraisal of parental influence is Richard L. Simpson's investigation[2] based on data collected from 743 boys in the white high schools (grades 10, 11, 12) of two rather small southern cities. The boys were asked, Has your father (mother) suggested some occupation for you to go into? (No, has said nothing about it; yes, would like for me to be a ____________________.) Parental influence was presumed to have been exercised if either of the parents was said to have indicated a desire for the son to enter one of the professions. Simpson's study is of interest because of its finding--despite the limited measure of parental influence--that the advice of parents was a much better predictor of high ambition than social class.[3]

Bell's study of a group of 88 high school boys in Boulder, Colorado also led to the conclusion that their "parents' aspirational motivations" was a much better predictor of high ambition in the boys than was the social class position of their families.[4]

> Parents were ranked high or low on aspirational motivations, as perceived by the subjects, on the basis of four indicators:

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[1] Ibid., p.269.

[2] "Parental Influence, Anticipatory Socialization and Social Mobility," American Sociological Review, 27, 1962, pp.517-522.

[3] Ibid., p.519. See Simpson's article for his criterion of ambitiousness in middle-class and working-class boys.

[4] Gerald D. Bell, "Processes in the Formation of Adolescents' Aspirations," Social Forces, 42, 1963, pp.179-186.

> (1) if they encouraged their boy to seek an occupation rated above their own on the Hollingshead Two Factor Index, (2) if they encouraged him to attend college, (3) if they punished him for doing poorly, and (4) if they rewarded him for doing well in his school work.[1] [Those boys] . . . who planned to attend college and desired an occupation above that of their parents' social class level were considered to have high aspiration levels.[2]

In his article, "Some Social Determinants of Educational Aspiration,"[3] Robert E. Herriott reports a study of 1489 boys and girls of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades in one public high school in western Massachusetts. This article does not lend itself to brief summary. It is cited here because it represents an attempt to evaluate by partial and multiple correlation analysis the contribution of a series of factors to the variation in the educational aspirations of the subjects. The analysis indicated that the educational level expected by their fathers and mothers, as perceived by the subjects, was one of the variables which independently influenced the subjects' level of educational aspiration.[4]

Influence of School Climate

Our study of the educational aspirations of eighth grade boys and girls is based primarily on consideration of the influence of two variables, parents aspirations for their children and the climate of aspiration of their schools. The research reviewed above has been reported because of its relevance for the former variable. We now turn to research dealing with the latter variable.

Most significant for our own research is the study by Wilson to which we have already referred in Chapter 1. Since our study can be regarded as a replication and extension of Wilson's work we describe it in some detail.

Its purpose was to investigate the proposition that ". . . the aspirations of the bulk of the students in a high school district provide a significant normative reference influencing the educational aspirations of boys from varying strata. . . ."[5] This was done ". . . by comparing the aspirations of students with similar social origins who attend schools characterized by different climates of aspiration."[1]

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[1] Ibid., p.183.

[2] Ibid., p.183.

[3] Harvard Educational Review, 33, No.2, 1963, pp.157-177.

[4] Ibid., p.169.

[5] Op.cit., p.837.

The subjects of the research were some 1200 boys of eight high schools in and around the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area.[2] (One was a private boys' school and another was a predominantly Negro school.) The eight schools were divided into groups A, B and C and respectively designated as "upper white collar," "lower white collar," and "industrial." The schools were selected and grouped in these categories on the basis of census data about the populations from which the student bodies were recruited and with comparable data obtained from the students.

> Educational aspirations [of the students] were inferred from the following question: After I graduate from high school (and if necessary serve in the military forces) -
>
> 1. ... I plan to get a job right away
> 2. ... I plan to be a housewife
> 3. ... I plan to go to a technical or trade school
> 4. ... I plan to go to a junior college
> 5. ... I plan to go first to a junior college, and then to a four-year college or university
> 6. ... I plan to go directly to a four-year college or university
> 7. ... I have other plans
>
> . . . .
> (What are they?)[3]

Responses 5 and 6 were taken to indicate an aspiration to go to college.

As was to be expected Wilson found sharp differences between the schools in the proportions of students aspiring to a college education: 80 per cent in the A schools, 57 per cent in the B schools and 38 per cent in the C schools.[4] Wilson notes that these differences are ". . . due to a great extent of course, to attributes of the parents who serve as reference individuals for the students."[5] This is clearly indicated by his data which show that students' aspirations within each of the three groups of schools vary with their fathers' occupational rank and with the educational level of both fathers and mothers.[6] These data, on the whole, also reveal that when the foregoing family attributes singly and in various combinations are held constant students' college aspirations vary in the hypothesized direction in the A, B and C school groups. These two sets of findings are presumed to confirm ". . . the cumulative effects of the primary and contextual variates--the boys' own class origins and the dominant class character of the high schools' student body."[1] Wilson finds further that the variation in aspiration by school type persists when grades and I.Q. are controlled.[2] Moreover when students are classified by their fathers' occupation the percentage attaining a high grade at each occupational level is higher for those in the A than in the B schools and lowest for those in the C schools. This is presumed to indicate that the". . . devaluation of education in the working-class schools affects academic achievement as much as it is reflected in educational aspirations."[3] Finally, data are presented ". . . suggesting that the dominant climate of opinion within a school makes a significant impact upon students' occupational goals and their political party preferences."[4] With fathers' occupation held constant, the percentage of students aspiring to professional occupations is found to vary systematically for the three school groups.[5] Similarly at each level of fathers' occupation a substantial association is shown between school type and the percentage of students who prefer the Republican to the Democratic party.[6]

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[1] Ibid., p.837.

[2] According to a personal communication from Wilson to the authors most of the high schools had grades ten to twelve. There were a few ninth graders in the private boys' school, and in one of the schools "the entire 10th grade was 'sampled' rather than classes cutting across grade levels."

[3] Ibid. p.839 fn.10.

[4] Ibid., p.839.

[5] Ibid., p.839.

[6] Ibid., p.839.

The empirical evidence advanced by Wilson is impressively consistent with the assumption that the "normative climate of the school society" influences the aspirations and academic achievement of students. Moreover, as Wilson states, the hypothesis ". . . is theoretically congruent with a considerable accumulation of research on small groups, studies of peer group influences and the differential effects of contrasting community structures. . . ." Nonetheless, as we have argued in Chapter 1--and will argue further in Chapter 4--there are strong grounds for questioning the proposition that the climate of the school can change the educational aspirations of youth, with its implication that the influence of the school in this crucial life area is greater than that of the family. It can be said at this point that the findings of our study with its use of parents' educational aspirations for their children as the index of familial influence support the primacy of the family over that of the school.

A second study of high school climate was concerned with its influence on seniors' plans to go to college.[7] This study by Michael utilized data collected by the Educational Testing Service in 1955 from more than 35,000 seniors.[1] Michael notes that there is a high correlation between certain features of high schools (e.g., classroom size, quality of teaching and professional staff) and of their community context (e.g., the proportion of well-educated families living in a community, the number of libraries and museums). He, therefore, posits that an indicator of high school climate should be related to both high school and community attributes. With this criterion in mind the indicator selected was the proportion of the senior class in the top two "family-status quintiles."

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[1] Ibid., p.839.

[2] Ibid., p.843.

[3] Ibid., p.843.

[4] Ibid., p.844.

[5] Ibid., p.845.

[6] Ibid., p.845.

[7] John A. Michael, "High School Climates and Plans for Entering College," Public Opinion Quarterly, 25, 1961, pp.585-595.

This index of the "socio-educational status" of families was constructed from data provided by the students on their fathers' occupation and education and on whether their older siblings attended college.[2] With this index the high schools of the study were classified into five climates ranging at one end from the climate indexed by a school's having less than 20 per cent of the senior class in the top two family-status quintiles to the climate--at the other extreme--of a schools' having more than 50 per cent of its seniors from "the more privileged families." The subdivision of families into family-status quintiles also allowed for the classification of individual students in terms of their socio-educational family background.

Although Michael's discussion of high school climate makes no reference to the constructs employed by Wilson to account for the hypothesized influence of the school ("modal level of aspiration of the bulk of the students", etc.) the analysis by the former of the relation of students' family background and high school climate to their plans to attend college parallels the latter's analysis of educational aspirations. Michael examines this relation for students in the top quarter of a scholastic aptitude test[3] and his finding is roughly consistent with that obtained by Wilson for students in grades 10 through 12. At each family-status level the proportion of seniors reporting they plan on college tends to be larger in schools having the "better" climate. The differences are, however, negligible for students from the two higher family status levels, and relatively small for those from families of one or another of the three lower levels.[4] Michael notes that the differences within each of the five categories of school climate are much more marked than the differences between the climates. This is interpreted as signifying that ". . . the financial ability to procure a college education suppresses any significant effects the educational milieu might have on going to college."[1] It can also be interpreted, of course as an indication of the frequently demonstrated family-status linked differences in aspiration to go to college. Nonetheless Michael's data, like Wilson's, are compatible with the hypothesis of school influence on students' planning to go to college. Further, Michael found, as did Wilson, that school climate substantially influenced achievement as measured by the scholastic aptitude test.[2] Both studies, however, share the limitation pointed out earlier in our discussion of Wilson's research.

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[1] Op. cit.

[2] Michael's article gives no further information on the construction of the index.

[3] Seniors' test scores on this aptitude test are said to be highly correlated with their academic standing. (Op. cit., p. 586, fn. 4.) And the relation in the other quartile levels of the test are said to be similar to that found in the top quartile.

[4] Ibid., p. 593.

Two other investigations which addressed themselves to school influence remain to be considered.[3] The first of these by Philip Cutright was ". . . concerned with the effect of the educational institution on the motivation of high school students to continue their education beyond their high school years."[4] Some 8500 boys and girls in the four grades of nine Northern Illinois high schools[5] were studied. Those answering "yes" or "undecided" (rather than "no") to the question, "Are you planning to go to college after high school?" were treated as intending to go to college.[6] The 1029 seniors planning on college were subsequently contacted to determine whether they went to college.[7] It, therefore, was possible to study both intended and actual college-going.

Cutright wished to measure what he calls "the pure" institutional effect on motivation.[8] To do so required holding constant the social class position of students' families since this factor influences planning for college and actually going or not going. In studying the school effect on various groups[1] the measure of family social class was the percentage of students in a group with white collar fathers and the percentage with college educated fathers. Omitting the details of Cutright's correlational analysis, it can be said that it led him to conclude that the school as such ". . . does have some effect in motivating students to want to go to college, but that this effect is greater for girls than boys. So far as motivating students sufficiently to get them into college, the school has virtually no effect on boys but does have some effect on girls."[2] Unfortunately, these findings cannot be readily joined to those reported for the preceding studies since no indication is offered of what features of the schools investigated might be the source of the effect suggested by Cutright's research. In the absence of any such indication one could even entertain the possibility that the effect imputed to the school might be a consequence of some factor unrelated to any aspect of the school which was deemed operative in the studies by Wilson or Michael.

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[1] Ibid., p.593.

[2] Ibid., p.590 and p.593.

[3] Both derived from James Coleman's study, The Adolescent Society, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

[4] "Students' Decision to Attend College," Journal of Educational Sociology, February, 1960, p.292.

[5] The schools were selected to represent large and small institutions which varied in their degree of "athletic and social orientation." Ibid., p.293.

[6] To be counted as college-motivated a student had to say "yes" or "undecided" in a questionnaire administered in both the fall and spring of the school year.

[7] Only 85 per cent of the seniors were located. Those not located "were counted as non-college goers." Ibid., p.296. Half of the students "intended" to go to college but only 33 per cent were found in college a year later.

[8] "By 'institutional' I am referring to any particular high school rather than to high schools or school systems in general." (Ibid., p.293.) No attempt is made to consider what the source of the "pure institutional effect" might be.

Coleman's project was the basis of a second study calling for some comment. This study focused on the interrelationship of "High School Social Status, College Plans and Academic Achievement."[3] Questionnaire data were first obtained from boys and girls in the freshman to senior classes (grades 9 through 12), and four years later the same data were secured in the spring of the school year from the 612 seniors (who were freshmen in the first stage of the project) in six of the original ten schools.[4] The six schools are described as ". . . more homogeneous in terms of socio-economic background, and location (all six are located in small towns except number six, which is in a rapidly growing suburb of a large metropolitan area). The six schools also show less variation in size because the three largest schools of the ten are excluded from the analysis."[5]

The following three questions were used to determine students' status, achievement orientation in high school, and their college plans: (1) "If a boy (girl) came here to school and wanted to get in with the leading crowd, what boys (girls) should he (she) get to be friends with?"

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[1] "Throughout our analysis a 'group' is always a school-grade-sex group: for example, freshman boys in school number five would be one group." Ibid., p.294 fn.2.

[2] Ibid., p.299.

[3] Edward L. McDill and James Coleman, American Sociological Review, 28, 1963, pp.905-918.

[4] "Permission to readminister the questionnaires was not granted by two of the schools; a third was a three-year school; and no request was made to the single non-public school in the sample." Ibid., p.907, fn.7. Moreover, there was a loss of 26 per cent of the original freshmen. "The overwhelming majority of this loss may be attributed to three factors: school drop-outs, geographical mobility, and absenteeism." Ibid., p.908, fn.8.

[5] Ibid., pp.907-908.

(Students mentioned two or more times were classified as having high status and others as having low status.) (2) "If you could be remembered here at school for one of the three things below which would you want it to be? Boys: Brilliant student, Athletic star, Most popular. Girls: Brilliant student, Leader in activities, Most popular." (Those giving the "brilliant student" response were characterized as placing high value on scholastic achievement and all others as giving it low value.)[1] (3) College-going intention was indicated by a "yes" answer to the question, "Are you planning to go to college after high school?" Fathers' education was used as a measure of students' family status. The data obtained on the foregoing items from boys and girls, first in their freshman year and, again, when they were seniors, allowed for an analysis of the relation of the variables through time. The conclusions of particular interest in connection with our own study are those relating to the relative impact of family background and school status on plans to attend college.

It was found that having high or low school status (equated with being or not being a member of the "leading crowd") was positively correlated with college intentions at both points in time. Over the four years of school this correlation increased a little for girls and very substantially for boys. It is suggested that the mutual effects of school status and college plans involve two processes.

> ... a boy or girl in the leading crowd [high school status] is in a group in which the majority are going to college. This fact, true from the beginning of the freshman year, certainly stems in part from the somewhat ascriptive nature of these leading crowds. Membership is greatly facilitated by coming from a "good" family in town, a family likely to plan to send its children to college. Thus for those who gain entrance to the leading crowd during high school, socialization toward college intentions presumably occurs. Similarly, outside the leading crowd [low school status], most of the cliques have a majority of non-college members. Socialization here works the other way: toward plans and activities that preclude college, often toward short-range goals that divert interest from college.
>
> The other process, by which college plans or their absence lead a person into or out of the leading crowd apparently proceeds according to the maxim "birds of a feather flock together." This is especially true in high school where the curricula differ for college and non-college students. Those with college plans have courses, activities, and interests in common with many members of the leading crowd, while those without such plans have courses, activities, and interests in common with more people outside the leading crowd. These commonalities lead to association and thus movement into or out of the leading crowd.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p.908.

[2] Ibid., pp.914-915.

Further analysis and consideration of sex differences leads the authors to conclude that their findings ". . . clearly demonstrate that the school status system has greater impact on boys' college plans than on girls'."[1] The explanation advanced for this sex difference is that ". . . girls' college intentions are more a function of family influences than of peer influences, while the opposite is true for boys."[2] This interpretation is supported by the results obtained from a ". . . simultaneous control of the effects of status in school and family background (as measured by father's education). . . .[3] This analysis showed that

> (a) In both the freshman and senior years family background accounts for more variation in college plans of girls than it does in the plans of boys. On the other hand, at both points in time, social status [in school] accounts for more of the variation in college plans of boys than of girls.
> (b) For girls, at both points in time, family background accounts for more of the variation in college plans than does status in school. For boys, in the freshman year, family background is more strongly related to college plans than is school status, but in the senior year the reverse is true.[4]

In view of the above findings, it is interesting to note that in the ten high schools comprising his study of *The Adolescent Society*,[5] Coleman observes that there is more divergence between schools in the college intentions of girls than in their family backgrounds. He takes this to suggest that

> . . . girls' college intentions may be highly influenced by the high-school climate - not the status of scholastic effort, but the status of college-going. That is, in some schools, college-going has high prestige, while in others it has little. The divergence of girls' college intentions in different schools, beyond that of their educational background [i.e. family status] suggests that this prestige influences girls to go or stay away from college. . . In contrast, the level of boys' college intentions in each school . . . more nearly parallels the level of college background [family status]. . . ."[6] In the end Coleman concludes in the larger study that, "Altogether, the effects of the climates on college-going and studying seem less than one might a priori expect. Whem there *are* effects, they seem most pronounced for the girls. . . .[7]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp.915-916.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp.916-917.

[3] *Ibid.*, p.917, fn.21.

[4] *Ibid.* The data from which these findings derive are not reported. Nor are the magnitudes of the contributions of family background and school status to the college plans of boys and girls.

[5] *Op.cit.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p.117.

[7] *Ibid.*, p.273.

Aspirations of Negro and White Students

Only a few studies have given attention to the question of whether Negro and white youth differ in their aspirations, which is one of the subsidiary problems of the present research. Stephenson studied this question[1], distinguishing between what his subjects were planning to do and what they would like to be doing, the latter being designated as their aspiration.

Stephenson's subjects were 1000 ninth grade students (boys and girls) in four medium-sized communities in New Jersey.[2] Less than 10 per cent of the group were Negro and of these 14 per cent did not answer the item on their occupational aspiration and 21 per cent fell in the "don't know" response on their occupational plan. The Negro group accordingly was very small and moreover was not analyzed separately for boys and girls when compared with the white students.[3]

The anonymous questionnaire filled out by the students first asked if they planned to quit high school, complete high school, or graduate from college. "At each of these educational alternatives the student was asked: 'After you (quit high school, complete high school, graduate from college) what kind of work do you intend to do?'"[4] It was thought that this question would elicit the student's occupational expectation. The question following was intended to elicit his (her) occupational aspiration: "In the above question you have indicated what you actually plan to do. However, often times we have to plan to do things we would not do if circumstances were different. Therefore, the following question is asked. If you could do what you really wanted to do, what would you do?"[5] The subjects were also requested to state their fathers' occupations and were asked some questions about their curriculum choice and educational plans.[6]

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[1] Op.cit. The emphasis in Stephenson's study was on white youth and on their occupational rather than educational aspirations.

[2] "The ninth grade was selected because at this age students begin to approach occupational choice with some degree of realism, occupational interest begins to stabilize, students must choose a high school curriculum and, therefore, are forced to give some consideration to occupational orientation, and this grade level is fairly representative of all strata since the dropping-out process has not yet started." Ibid., p.206.

[3] The reported findings on race differences therefore should be regarded as tentative and of suggestive value only.

[4] Ibid., p.205.

[5] Ibid., p.205.

[6] "Curriculum choice and educational planning were desirable in order to give some evidence of the validity of the student's occupational plan." Ibid., pp.205-206.

Fathers' occupations and students' occupational plans and aspirations were classified by the six groupings of the Edwards occupational scale, in which professionals rank highest and unskilled workers lowest.

Before citing Stephenson's findings on Negro-white differences some of his findings for the total group merit reporting. First, the data show that students distinguish occupational plans from aspirations.[1] Second, it was found that students' stratification position (as measured by their fathers' occupational level) influences their plans and their aspirations.[2] Third, it was found that, "Both the curriculum choices and educational plans of the students conformed to their occupational plans. . . ."[3] Educational plans were accordingly positively correlated with the socio-economic position of students' families.

The data for Negro students are presented for boys and girls combined and are limited to those whose fathers were in the three lower (IV, V, and VI) occupational categories.[4] When compared with the white students whose fathers were in these groups the Negro students with fathers in Groups IV and V were found to have lower occupational plans than their counterparts among the white children. Given fathers in Group VI, (the lowest occupational rank), the plans of Negroes and whites within each occupational level of father were at the same level. The aspirations of the two racial groups were similarly high.[5] Stephenson interprets the over-all pattern of his findings as suggesting that ". . . youths hold a relatively common perception in the aspiration dimension of mobility orientation but that the expectation dimension is more sharply differentiated by their general position in the social system (in which class is a significant variant.)"[6] (Underlines added.)

Holloway and Berreman in their research studied the aspirations and plans of ". . . 313 Negro and white male pupils of the sixth, seventh and eighth grades in three elementary schools in a city in the Pacific Northwest... The schools varied in racial composition from 85 per cent white to 98 per cent Negro. Of those included in the study, 59 per cent of the pupils were Negro and 41 per cent were white. . . . Only 15 (8%) of the Negro pupils were rated as middle class."[1] One of the distinctive features of this research is that it included subjects whose educational level was as low as the sixth grade. Unfortunately, however, none of the data are separately reported for this youngest age group.

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[1] ". . . although 73 per cent of the students elect Group I and II [occupational] aspirations, only 40 per cent plan for such occupations." Ibid., p.206.

[2] "There is a progressive lowering of both as the occupational hierarchy is descended. However, it is true also that the difference between a student's occupational plan and aspiration is progressively greater down the hierarchy." Ibid., p.207.

[3] Ibid., p.208.

[4] There were virtually no Negro fathers in the higher three occupational groups.

[5] Ibid., p.209.

[6] Ibid., pp.211-212.

> Educational aspirations were elicited and distinguished from plans by the following two questions:
> 1. What is the highest grade in school you would like to reach if you had the chance?
> 2. Sometimes we cannot do what we would like to do. How far in school do you really plan to go?
>
> Occupational aspirations and plans were elicited by similar questions.[2]

Pupils were ranked as high on educational aspirations (and plans) if their indicated goals involved any college attendance, and as low if they reported a lesser goal. An unpublished adaptation[3] of Warner's Revised Scale for Rating Occupations was used to classify occupational aspirations and plans as high or low. The social class of the pupils' families was determined essentially by a modification of Warner's "Index of Status Characteristics." This served as the basis for categorizing families as middle class or lower class.

Holloway and Berreman found both points of agreement and of disagreement with the results of Stephenson's research.[4] The educational aspirations of Negro and white lower class pupils and those of the middle class whites[5] are uniformly high, being roughly 80 per cent. About 20 per cent of the lower class pupils of both races, however, have educational plans that are lower than aspirations; whereas the white middle-class group has the same proportion with high aspirations and high plans. Occupational aspirations, on the other hand, are higher for middle-class than for lower-class white pupils but are much the same for Negro and white lower-class children. The levels of occupational plans and aspirations do not differ significantly for any of the three groups but plans are somewhat lower than aspirations for the white middle-class and Negro working-class children. This constitutes the major difference between Stephenson's findings and those of Holloway and Berreman, i.e. in the former study occupational plans were substantially lower than aspirations for the disadvantaged groups.

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[1] Op.cit., p.57. In this, as in Stephenson's investigation, there consequently was an inadequate representation of middle-class Negro youths. This limitation also holds for our own study.

[2] Op.cit., p.57.

[3] Alfred Stern, A Study of the Relationship Between Parental Social Class Level and Occupational Aspiration Level of Adolescents in Junior High School, Master's Thesis, University of Texas, 1950, pp.30-39.

[4] The findings of the two studies are not altogether comparable since the latter did not secure (or does not report) data on both educational aspirations and plans. Moreover, Stephenson reports findings on educational plans for boys and girls combined and Holloway and Berreman studied boys only.

[5] Because of the small number of middle-class Negro children we are not reporting the findings for them.

The most recent study of racial differences in aspirations is that reported by Gist and Bennett.[1] Their data were collected by questionnaire from 9th and 12th grade students in four large Kansas City high schools. (The percentages of Negroes in the schools ranged from 100 to less than 10.) The group studied consisted of 202 Negro boys, 210 Negro girls, 250 white boys and 211 white girls.

Students were asked what occupation they "would like to have when they were 30 years old." (Their aspiration.) They were then asked "What kind of job do you think you will actually have when you are 30 years old?" (Their "plan".)[2] Data were also secured on general attitudes to school, aspirations for future education and type of future education being considered. All occupations were classified by an "arbitrary nine-level division of the North-Hatt occupational prestige scale, as modified by Reissman."[3]

The authors state that for neither sex was there a racial difference in occupational aspirations even with socio-economic class and I.Q. held constant.[4] They also found for both sexes and all social classes that, "Proportionately as many white students as Negroes aspired to college and university education."[5] Further all students are said to have shown ". . . considerable uniformity between their plans and their aspirations, regardless of race or father's occupation."[6] An additional finding may be mentioned with respect to parental aspirations--namely that mothers (white and Negro) tend to have higher aspirations than fathers for both daughters and sons.[7]

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[1] Noel P. Gist and William S. Bennett, Jr., "Aspirations of Negro and White Students," Social Forces, 42, 1963, pp.40-49.

[2] Strictly speaking we would regard this item as descriptive of "expectations" rather than "plans".

[3] Ibid., p.43.

[4] Ibid. No information is given on the number of middle-class Negroes in the sample.

[5] Ibid., p.44.

[6] Ibid. The data showing the comparison of plans and aspirations are not given.

[7] Ibid., p.47. The authors incorrectly characterize their data as evidence that mothers have greater influence than fathers.

The finding of one other study[1] bearing on racial differences should be noted. In this study the Thematic Apperception Test was administered to boys ranging in age from 8 to 14 and interviews were conducted with their mothers. The subjects were residents of 62 communities in four North-eastern states. The group included 65 Negroes, 122 white Protestants and members of various other ethnic minorities.[2] We omit the details of the research and quote the following from its conclusions:

> . . . achievement motivation is more characteristic of Greeks, Jews, and white Protestants than of Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. . . The [achievement] values and educational aspirations of Negroes are higher than expected, being comparable to those of Jews, Greeks, and white Protestants, and higher than those of the Italians and French-Canadians. Vocational aspirations of Negroes, however, are the lowest of any group in the sample.[3]

Studies of Social Class Differences In School Adjustment

Published research on social class differences in school adjustment is conspicuous by its paucity. The prevailing view on the question--that working-class children are the more maladjusted--stems largely from the work of Allison Davis and his associates and from that of Hollingshead. Their studies and the few others pertaining directly to the problem are reviewed below. Although personality differences are doubtless linked with differences among children in school adjustment[4] as we use the term, no attempt will be made to cover the considerable literature on social class differences in children's personalities.[5]

In considering the research by Davis and his associates, it should be remembered that their observations of social class phenomena are presumed to be applicable to both whites and Negroes. This follows from their view that social class is more significant than race or ethnic origin in determining persons' life circumstances, their values and motivation, how they act and how others react to them.[1]

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[1] Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity and the Achievement Syndrome," American Sociological Review, 24, 1959, pp.47-60.

[2] Ibid., p.49.

[3] Ibid., p.60. The measure of achievement motivation was derived from children's performance on the TAT. Achievement values, educational and vocational aspirations were scored from data obtained from the mothers.

[4] See in this connection Robert J. Havighurst, et.al., Growing Up in River City, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1962, pp.53-64.

[5] For a discussion of the limited and contradictory results of research in this area see William H. Sewell, "Social Class and Childhood Personality", Sociometry, 24, 1961, pp.340-356. The evidence suggests a slight difference in personality adjustment, favoring the middle-class child.

Davis and his co-workers have stressed the maladjustment of the working-class child in the school. Its middle-class norms and goals are supposedly alien to him and its personnel unsympathetic and discriminatory. Davis and Dollard report that it can be observed that

> . . . certain of the children obtain the approval and caresses of their teachers more readily than others. They are usually the children whose parents have upper-middle-class or upper-class status. They begin to receive favors and status privileges from their teachers as soon as they enter school. . . The average lower-class child, however, who on status grounds is systematically punished by his teacher, becomes a sullen, hostile child.[2] (Underline added.)

The lower-class child is aware of, and responds to, the discriminatory behavior of the teacher.

> He sees the upper-class and upper-middle-class children being accorded preference, not only in classroom recitations but also in school entertainments and in intimate friendship relations with the teacher. He finds that he is not granted these privileges; instead he is stigmatized by teachers and their favored students. . . If there is no reward for learning. . . there is no motive for work. The lower-class child soon becomes a "dummy". Frequently he is openly aggressive to the teacher. . . .[3]
>
> [As for the teacher, she]. . . is herself a member of the class system. She is rewarded by the behavior of the good student, first because his habits are evidence that she is a proficient teacher, and, secondly, because through the child she is able to gain the approval of his upper-middle-class or upper-class parents.[4]

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[1] "Native whites who are lower-class and native Negroes, Chinese or Spanish-Americans who are lower-class are much the same in culture and in social-psychological instigations. The same cross-cutting characteristic of social class behavior has been observed for middle-class native white and native Negro-Americans." Allison Davis, Chapter XI (Socialization and Adolescent Personality), 43rd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, 1944, p.200.

[2] Allison Davis and John Dollard, Children of Bondage, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1940, p.281.

[3] Ibid., p.285.

[4] Ibid., p.282.

Parents and cliques are seen as reinforcing the maladjustment of the working-class child and reinforcing the position of the middle-class child in the school situation. "Whereas the lower-class parent aligns himself with the child against the teacher on grounds of class antagonism, the parents in the higher class position maintain a solid front with the teacher in the latter's demand upon the child."[1] The influence of the child's clique operates in the same direction as that of the parents. The working-class boy's gang ". . . teaches him to fear being taken in by the teacher, of being a softie with her. To study homework seriously is literally a disgrace. Instead of boasting of good marks in school, one conceals them, if he ever receives any."[2] On the other hand, "Within an upper-middle-class or upper-class clique, there are social punishments for the member who fails to achieve good marks or to become a school leader; . . . a student is praised and accorded relationships of equality if he meets the clique's standards."[3]

The preceding views about social class differences in school adjustment derive from the research by Davis, Dollard and others whose theoretical and research orientation is predominantly that of social anthropology as applied by Lloyd Warner to the study of contemporary societies.[4] Their investigations have been carried out in Negro and white communities in the South, Middle West and New England. Relying heavily on the procedures of the social anthropologist--participant observation, interviews, life histories, etc.--their reports have been qualitative in nature which makes it difficult to judge the extent to which their observations of class differences can be generalized even for the communities which they studied.

Hollingshead's conclusions[5] on social class differences in school adjustment, like those of Davis and his collaborators, have been a major influence in developing the view that working-class youth find themselves at a disadvantage and discriminated against by the school as a middle-class institution.

The community studied by Hollingshead was a small town[6] with an almost exclusively white population of 6,200. The 735 adolescents (369 boys and 366 girls) who comprised the study group belonged to 535 different families. All but a few of the adolescents ranged in age from 14 to 18. Their families were grouped into five social classes by a method which involved the ratings of the community status of families by selected members of the community.[1] Hollingshead's data ". . . were derived principally from participant observation, schedules, interviews, official records, tests, autobiographies. . . visits with the adolescents, their parents, and other local people. Schedules were completed on 549 families and 752 adolescents."[2]

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[1] Ibid., p.286.

[2] Allison Davis, Social Class Influences Upon Learning, Harvard University Press, 1949, p.30.

[3] Davis and Dollard, op.cit., p.82.

[4] Their theoretical orientation also embraces the reinforcement theory of learning.

[5] August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth, John Wiley and Sons, 1949, passim.

[6] "In terms of its location, size, economic base, population, and institutions, Elmtown may be characterized as a typical Middle-Western town." (Underline added.) Op.cit., p.65.

Hollingshead's impressions and systematically collected data lead him to emphasize the negative correlation between adolescents' social class position and their adjustment in the high school situation.[3] Those whose families are in the higher social classes (I and II) are seen as more favored and successful in Elmtown's high school and those in the lowest class (V) as discriminated against and least successful. Hollingshead attributes these differences not only to differences in family background but also to the influence on school personnel of higher status families. Thus in commenting on the superior academic performance of children from these families he states that, "A by no means negligible element is a teacher's expectation that the class I and II child will 'make good'; and she helps him realize this goal for, after all, his parents may 'help' a teacher or cause 'trouble' very easily. These factors react in subtle ways to produce high grades and leadership in extra-curricular activities in classes I and II."[4] Class IV students are represented as carrying ". . . into the school situation attitudes they receive from their parents. A prevailing attitude in this class is: "No matter what you want to do or would like to do, the children from the 'rich families' won't let you do it." The great majority of their parents did not attend high school, and a goodly segment of these people have little appreciation of the work the school is doing or what the child will get out of it."[5] As for the class V child his principal ambition ". . . is to grow up and escape from the authority symbolized by his parents and teachers."[6]

Hollingshead reports that the children of the two upper classes ". . . generally assume that good grades, school prizes, student offices, and prominence in scholastic affairs are their natural due. . . . When controls implicit in the class system do not suffice to give persons in the two higher classes what they desire for their children, direct pressures are applied."[1] Hollingshead is disposed to give credence to the many stories told him about these pressures and sees them as providing some foundation for the belief he asserts is widely held ". . . in classes IV and V, and to a somewhat lesser extent in class III that the grades a student receives are determined by the position of his parents in the social structure rather than by his ability or his industriousness."[2] He asserts that "Teachers, if they are successful, act judiciously in their relations with the children of the powerful. . . ."[3] and that ". . . the teachers do cater to the prominent families."[4]

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[1] See Milton M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology, Duke University Press, Durham, 1958, p.125.

[2] Ibid., p.19.

[3] Elmtown's high school was composed of grades 9 to 12.

[4] Ibid., p.176.

[5] Ibid., p.177.

[6] Ibid., p.178.

The administration of school discipline is also said to be responsive to social class influence. It ". . . is administered in such a way that powerful families are satisfied. . . . The effect upon student morale, particularly in classes IV and V where the onus of the practices followed is felt, appears not to have entered the consciousness of the superintendent, principal, or most teachers. . . ."[5]

Pursuing the matter of possible discrimination further, Hollingshead cites data on the class composition of the student council. Here, he points out, candidates are nominated ". . . without any noticeable interference from the teachers or school officials."[6] Despite the secrecy of the ballot and the absence of any adult pressure for any particular individuals the data indicate a considerable overrepresentation on the Council of students from Class II, a marked underrepresentation of Class IV students and not a single representative of Class V.[7] In this area of school life--as Hollingshead notes--there is no question of social class discrimination. It might be surmised that either the lower class students are not interested in electing representatives of the same social origin as themselves or that students of higher strata have more appeal or visibility as potential representatives.

Finally, Hollingshead presents data on student participation in extracurricular activities. Students from the higher classes are shown to be engaged in far more activities than those from the lower classes, with the difference being much greater for girls than for boys.[8] Here again, the social class difference may be an indication of lesser interest of lower-class students (or time pressure from part-time work), rather than of any discrimination against them.

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[1] Ibid., p.180.

[2] Ibid., p.181.

[3] Ibid., p.180.

[4] Ibid., p.184.

[5] Ibid., p.186.

[6] Ibid., p.200.

[7] Ibid., p.200.

[8] Ibid., pp.201-202.

Two considerations should not be overlooked in weighing the evidence provided by Hollingshead's study for the assumption of social class differences in adolescents' school adjustment. First, there is the fact that much of the most pertinent evidence is essentially impressionistic and qualitative. Secondly, since the high school studied was in a small town, the class status of students' families could be presumed to have had relatively high visibility. The question can be raised whether in larger communities school personnel would have any sharp awareness of the class status of the families of particular students.[1] The lower visibility of family status as such might be expected to reduce class-biased behavior on the part of school personnel having any disposition to act in this way. To the extent that this assumption is valid any conclusions drawn from Hollingshead's investigation would have to be qualified accordingly.

Hollingshead's study of Elmtown was made in 1941-42, Coleman's study in 1957. Elmtown high school was one of the ten schools studied by Coleman and one of his observations about Elmtown contrasts sharply with Hollingshead's central theme of middle-class influence. We quote from Coleman's The Adolescent Society,

> The results of Hollingshead's earlier study of Elmtown would lead one to expect it to be far higher than any of the other schools in the importance of family background [for membership in a school's leading crowd and for popularity]. The major point of Hollingshead's analysis was that a boy or girl was judged almost solely on background factors, by teachers and peers alike. This is not true for any of these schools, and family background is particularly unimportant in Elmtown, along with Farmdale and Green Junction [two other small town, high schools].[2]

Coleman suggests that the divergence to which he refers may be due to a substantial increase in the proportion of working-class youth in the Elmtown high school.[3] This taken in conjunction with the assumption that a working-class boy or girl is much more likely to be left out of the leading crowd in an upper-middle-class school, than in a school with few middle-class students, might account for the present dominance of working-class youth in the Elmtown school system.[4] Coleman does note, however, that there is a tendency in his sample of schools for middle-class students to constitute the leading crowd but that this tendency is greatly diminished when they become a small minority in the system.[1] Another possible interpretation of the difference between what Coleman and Hollingshead observed in Elmtown is that the latter gave undue weight to much of his qualitative data on the influence of a middle-class bias in the school system.

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[1] Teachers and other school officials would be aware, to be sure, of the status level of the student body as a whole.

[2] Op.cit., p.85.

[3] As a consequence of the general increase in the proportion of working-class adolescents now attending high school.

[4] Coleman, op.cit., p.109.

From the assumption that working-class youth are more poorly adjusted in school than those of middle-class background it might be inferred that the former would tend to be more rebellious than the latter with respect to school norms and expectations. In the high school study by Stinchcombe referred to earlier, this was found to be true for girls but hardly at all for boys.[2] This finding was based on an index of rebellion which consisted of ". . . three self-reported rebellious acts: skipping school with a gang of kids, receiving a flunk notice in a non-college preparatory class, and being sent out of class by a teacher."[3]

Stinchcombe also reports that he found no social-class difference among self-reported truants in the proportions who had come into contact with the Attendance Office.[4] He cites this as evidence which is contrary to Hollingshead's of discrimination in enforcement of school regulations.

Some additional evidence on the question of social class differences in school adjustment was obtained by Stephen Abrahamson[5] in his study of 705 students in the 7th to the 9th grade in six communities. (Two were urban communities, two suburban, and two were away from large urban centers.) The students were grouped into four social class categories according to Warner's Index of Status Characteristics: upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower and lower-lower.

Abrahamson's analysis and results are reported for boys and girls combined. Of particular interest is his finding that in the six schools almost all student offices were held by those from upper-middle and lower-middle class families. "No lower-lower class student held an office."[6] Participation in extra-curricular activities was similarly found to be correlated with students' social class status.[7]

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[1] Ibid., p.109.

[2] Op.cit., p.192.

[3] Ibid., p.11.

[4] Ibid., p.186.

[5] "Our Status System and Scholastic Rewards," The Journal of Educational Sociology, 25, 1952, pp.441-450. The article is most inadequate in its account of the research procedures and in its report of the data.

[6] Ibid., p.447.

[7] Ibid., p.446.

A major premise in the view that working-class children are more poorly adjusted in school than those of middle-class background is that teachers are partial to the latter and discriminate against the former. Two carefully controlled observational studies have been made to determine whether teachers tend to act differently with children of the lower and higher social classes. The first of these was an investigation by D.E. Clifton[1] of 25 second grade classrooms from three different socio-economic areas in Oakland, California. The second was a study by Arthur J. Hoehn[2] of 19 third grade teachers in two central Illinois communities of between 50,000 and 75,000.

According to Hoehn, Clifton's record of teacher behavior showed that, on the average, teachers of the three socio-economic areas were very similar in their classroom contacts with their pupils. "However. . . teachers in the area of highest status level were found to have slightly fewer conflict contacts and slightly more 'highly integrative' contacts with individual pupils than did teachers in the other areas."[3]

Hoehn's research dealt specifically with the question of ". . . whether third-grade teachers tend, either consciously or unconsciously, to have different amounts and kinds of classroom [individual] contacts with high than with low status pupils."[4]

The observed teachers are described as women who were "clearly of middle-class status and expressed middle-class values." Almost all their pupils were white. The pupils in each classroom were classified as middle- or lower-class on the basis of Warner's Index of Status Characteristics.[5]

Teacher behavior was observed for a total of five hours during a two-day period. A record was kept of (a) the total number of individual contacts with each child, (b) the proportion of contacts in the category "Domination with conflict", (c) the proportion in the category "Integration with evidence of working together", (d) the ratio of "Integrative" to "Dominative" contacts, and (e) the ratio of "Integrative with evidence of working together" to "Dominative with conflict". It was hypothesized that all but the second of these measures varied directly with pupil social status; the second was presumed to vary inversely with pupil social status.[1]

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[1] Dominative and Socially Integrative Behavior of Twenty-Five Second Grade Teachers, unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Illinois, 1944.

[2] "A Study of Social Status Differentiation in the Classroom Behavior of Nineteen Third Grade Teachers", The Journal of Social Psychology, 1954, 39, pp.269-292.

[3] Hoehn, op.cit., p.269.

[4] Ibid., p.270.

[5] "The observation data were collected before pupil status data as a means of preventing bias in the interpretation and tallying of teacher contacts." Ibid., p.277.

The results of various tests of the hypothesis were less than conclusive. Omitting the details it might be said that there was some indication of an association in the hypothesized direction between the social status of pupils and the quality of teacher contact with them. Correlation coefficients are not given but the author reports ". . . that none of the teacher behavior indices were closely related to student status."[2] Furthermore, analysis of the relation between the pupil's achievement level and teacher contacts suggests that "...the found tendency of teachers to favor high status over low status pupils may be simply incidental to their partiality to pupils of relatively high achievement."[3]

It must be appreciated that studies of the behavior of teachers such as Clifton's and Hoehn's cannot serve as a test of the partiality of teachers to middle-class pupils. It is not inconceivable that children of different social classes diverge in their classroom deportment and this, rather than a tendency on the part of teachers to favor middle-class children, could explain any observed differences in teachers' contacts with their pupils of higher and lower social status. The slightness of the relation found by Clifton and Hoehn between teachers' behavior and the social status of pupils suggests that differences in the behavior of children from differnt family backgrounds may not be at all marked in the earlier grades when they are very young. The impact of social class on behavior in schools may become more apparent in the later years. If so, teacher contacts with pupils may be more sharply related to the latter's social background in the high school grades.

Discussion of Past Research

This chapter has reviewed many studies relating to the two major research problems with which we deal in subsequent chapters. Most of these studies pertain to the question of home or school influence on aspirations[4] since, as indicated above, there has been little research on the question of social class differences in school adjustment. Although very few of the studies reviewed are strictly comparable to our's we thought a useful purpose would be served if the reader were given more than a mere mention of them, as is usually done. This provides a somewhat firmer base for the evaluation of the investigations cited. Moreover, it gives the less specialized reader a fuller appreciation of the background of the present research.

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[1] *Ibid*., pp.279-286.

[2] *Op. cit*., p.288.

[3] *Ibid*., p.291.

[4] The review of these studies is by no means exhaustive. We have dealt only with those which are more immediately relevant for the present study.

Family and School Influence on Children's Aspirations

Our review of studies of family influence on children's educational aspirations has been restricted to those which explicitly directed their attention to parental aspirations or to some other specific index of the children's home environment which could be presumed to have an impact on their aspirations.[1] The findings of these studies are consistent with the assumption that the family plays a significant part in shaping and sustaining children's educational aspirations. Much of the evidence for this assumption, however, falls short of being conclusive for one or another of several reasons. A major limitation of the evidence is that for the most part the data on parental aspirations--or other indices of home influence--have consisted of the unconfirmed reports of children.[2] A second weakness is the fact that the measure of parents' and children's educational aspirations has typically been limited to a single item, with the measurement risks attendant thereon. In this respect the present study represents an advance on past research. Our measure of children's aspirations embraces both the educational goal towards which they aspire, and the intensity of their desire to go to college. Unfortunately, we did not extend the measure of parental aspirations in similar fashion.

How the particular schools they attend influence children's educational motivations and aspirations is a challenging question and one of obvious importance for educational policy. The phenomenon at issue is central to social psychology: the extent and nature of the impact of the group (or the social context) on the individual's beliefs, values, aspirations, behavior patterns, etc. The influence of the student body on the educational aspirations of its individual members is an instance of this phenomenon which is particularly challenging because it requires the analytical and empirical disentanglement of the influence on individuals of their family, their fellow students, their teachers, etc.

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[1] Any study which simply deals with the relation of children's social class position to their aspirations is, of course, taking account of home influence. Although important, such studies are using an extremely gross and undifferentiated indicator of the family variables which may affect children's aspirations. Moreover, these studies do not come to grips with the problem of intra- and inter-class variability in aspirations.

[2] This is true of our study as well.

Research on the problem, as is evident from our review of the literature has been of limited amount. Coleman's rather intensive study[1] of high schools presents evidence of how the dominant student values in particular schools affect various segments of the student population but it is not at all clear from his report to what extent the influence of "the adolescent society" is, in fact, continuous with or in opposition to that of the family.

The two studies most relevant for our own investigation of school influence on children's aspirations are Michael's[2] and Wilson's.[3] Both concluded that the schools have an influence, independent of that of the family, on students' aspirations as measured by their answer to a single question which indicated whether they planned to go to college. Our study is essentially a replication of Wilson's research but goes beyond it, and Michael's as well, in that we utilized children's reports of their parents' educational aspirations for them as the index of family influence on children rather than inferring the latter from the socioeconomic status of their families. Moreover, as already indicated, we employed a more complex measure of children's educational aspirations. Since our investigation included girls as well as boys it was broader in scope than Wilson's which was restricted to boys. Finally, our eighth grade subjects were at a lower grade level than those studied by Michael and Wilson.

Social Class Differences in School Adjustment

We have earlier noted that there is very little systematic, quantitative evidence on the question of social class differences in school adjustment. Our study of the eighth grade boys and girls of seven junior high schools consequently adds to the meager literature on this problem. As pointed out in the previous chapter,the study is descriptive rather than explanatory but despite its modest objective, we hope it will be of some interest and value to students of social stratification and, that it will contribute to teachers' understanding of the children from the various social strata who face them in the classroom.

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[1] Coleman, The Adolescent Society, op.cit.

[2] Op.cit.

[3] Op. cit.

CHAPTER 3

PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

This chapter describes the procedures of the study of aspirations and school adjustment. It deals in turn with the methods of data collection, the characteristics of the subjects, and the measures of the variables. The procedures used in the study of the two problems are described in detail to allow for the replication of the research.

Data and Subjects

Data

The subjects of the study were eighth grade boys and girls. The data were collected in early June of 1960. Two questionnaires[1] were filled out by most of the subjects in regular class sessions on the same day with one or more class periods intervening between the administration of the first and second questionnaire. School schedules in three of the schools made it necessary to administer the two forms on successive days. Students were not told in answering the first questionnaire that they would subsequently be asked to fill out another. Not knowing of the second questionnaire, they had no reason to discuss it and possibly thereby to develop a set toward it.

The questionnaires were administered to most students by their teachers of English and Social Studies. The teachers had previously been informed by the study director of the general purpose of the research but were not apprised of the hypotheses being investigated. An attempt was made to give them some appreciation of the potential importance for teachers and students of studies such as the one for which their cooperation was being solicited. Standardization of conditions of administration was stressed and teachers were given printed instructions which they were asked to read to their classes before distributing the questionnaires.[2]

The questionnaires were pretested with eight-graders, in a school not included in the study, to insure that the wording of the questions and instructions were within the range of reading ability and comprehension of children in the lower ranks of the eighth grade.

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[1] The questionnaires are presented in Appendix B. The forms were identical for both sexes except for the required minor differences in wording.

[2] The instructions are presented along with the questionnaires in Appendix B.

The questionnaires were presented to the students as anonymous and they were instructed not to identify themselves on the form. They were assured that their answers would not be made known to parents or to any school personnel. Although the questionnaires were not signed by the subjects, matching their two questionnaires to each other and to school records was accomplished by means of birthdates obtained on both questionnaires. The matching was facilitated by having each teacher who administered questionnaires provide a list of the boys and girls present at the time and of those who were absent. In effect this meant that the matching was done within groups consisting of about twenty five to thirty five children. The identification of the children was facilitated further by the possibility of comparing their questionnaire reports of their parents' occupations with the information available for many of them in school records.

In addition to the questionnaires, data were obtained from school records on the children's scores on a standard achievement or intelligence test, their grades in individual school subjects, absences from school because of illness, their visits to the school nurse, and--when available--on their fathers' and mothers' occupations. Ratings of the children by teachers were also obtained. These are described later in the chapter.

Subjects of the Study

Seven junior high schools (composed of grades seven, eight, and nine) in the San Francisco Bay Area were selected for study. The schools were chosen for the substantial differences in the social class composition of their student bodies. The selection of the working-class schools was based partially on census tract data and partially on the advice of the school district's research director who had knowledge of the characteristics of the schools and of the neighborhoods served by the schools. Three of the schools are in a suburban community of approximately 50,000 population and are known to draw their students from predominantly middle-class families. The other four schools are in a large metropolitan city. One of these schools serves children largely from middle-class families, while the other three schools, one of which serves predominantly Negro students, for the most part draw their students from working-class families. Both communities enjoy close proximity to a major state and private university which are almost continuously referred to in the press in connection with scientific activities, athletic events and other pursuits. Persons living in either of the two communities also have ready access to many state junior and four-year colleges. Various opportunities for education beyond the high school level are, therefore, highly visible and available for parents or children who are at all disposed to perceive or to take advantage of them.

In all, the subjects total 1223 boys and 1202 girls enrolled in the eighth grade. The totals include the 135 Negro boys and 133 Negro girls of the Negro school. The subjects of the study were all boys and girls present at school the day (or days) the questionnaires were administered. Students in classes for the physically and mentally handicapped were not included in the study.

The social-class composition of each school as determined by Hollingshead's Index of Social Position (discussed later in the chapter) is shown in Table 3.1. Hollingshead's Classes I, II, and III have been combined in a group designated as middle class, and Classes IV and V have been combined in a group we designate as working class. Confirming the assumed and desired differences between schools in the social-class family background of their students is the finding that in schools 1, 2, 3, and 4 a third or less of the eighth-grade boys and girls are from the working class, whereas in schools 5, 6, and 7 a large majority fall in this category.

Variables Utilized in the Study of Educational Aspirations

Educational Aspirations

Data were obtained on three variables pertaining to children's educational aspirations. The variables were their (1) educational goals, (2) motivation to go to college, and (3) certainty of going to college. In addition variables (1) and (2) were combined to form a fourth variable: level of aspiration (LOA) for higher education. It was anticipated that LOA would serve as the primary criterion in testing the hypothesis of school influence.

Children's educational goals.--The data relating to educational goals were their responses to the question:

How far do you want to go in school?
I want to quit as soon as I can
to finish 9th grade
to finish 10th grade
to finish 11th grade
to finish 12th grade
to go to a college or university for a few years
to finish 4 or more years of college

Answers to this question were used to classify the children into three groups: (a) those wanting to finish the twelfth grade or less, (b) those wanting to go to a college or university for a few years, and (c) those wanting to finish four or more years of college.

Intensity of desire to go to college.--The data on boys' and girls' intensity of desire to go to college were obtained by the series of items listed below. Boys' and girls' responses to these items were found to constitute a Guttman quasi-scale for each sex with a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .95, with 31 errors remaining after partial image ana-

TABLE 3.1 -- Social class of families of eighth-grade boys and girls in seven schools studied

School	Working Class		Middle Class		Total	Social Class Unknown
	N	%	N	%	N	N
			BOYS			
Suburban						
1	15	10	141	90	156	4
2	45	27	121	73	166	6
3	38	33	77	67	115	13
Metropolitan						
4	32	21	117	79	149	5
5	170	59	101	41	269	21
6	125	75	41	25	166	18
7 (Negro)	94	88	13	12	107	28
			GIRLS			
Suburban						
1	17	10	147	90	164	13
2	47	28	124	73	171	0
3	42	33	85	67	127	2
Metropolitan						
4	21	14	125	86	146	6
5	138	58	98	42	236	13
6	144	83	30	17	174	17
7 (Negro)	97	90	11	10	108	25

lysis[1] for the boys' scale and a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .96 with 10 final errors for the girls' scale. The questions are listed below by scale type in rank order of high to low intensity of desire to go to college. The scale responses representing the positive category in each of the items as finally dichotomized[2] are underlined. The rank order of items and the positive response category for each question is the same for the boys' and the girls' scale.

Scale Type (Score)	Question
5	Do you ever feel you can hardly wait until you get to college? I feel that many times, quite a few times, sometimes, hardly ever, never.
4	Do you think you would be unhappy if you didn't go to college? Would be very unhappy, pretty unhappy, a little unhappy, wouldn't be unhappy at all.
3	How sure are you now you really want to go to college? Very sure, pretty sure, not very sure, not at all sure, sure I don't want to go.
2	How much do you want to go to college? Very much, pretty much, a little, not at all.
1	Would you say you don't really care whether you go to college or not? No, yes.
0	None of the above questions answered in the positive response category indicated.

Where this variable is dichotomized for data analysis boys and girls with scale scores of 3, 4, or 5 are treated as high (and all others as low) on intensity of desire to go to college. The cutting points for the dichotomies fall at the approximate median of the distribution of scale scores of each sex.

Level of aspiration (LOA).--The reational for using a measure of intensity of desire for college in conjunction with the single question relating to educational goal is that it provides a more meaningful and more reliable measure of educational aspiration. If, as suggested in Chapter 1, aspirations are a motivating force in behavior this force obviously can be more meaningfully measured if account is taken not only of an individual's goal but also of the intensity with which he is oriented to it. This multiple-item determination of level of aspiration also has the almost certain advantage of identifying aspirations more reliably than when it is done by the response to a single question.

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[1] See Appendix A for a discussion of scaling techniques employed in the study.

[2] The scaling method required that all items be dichotomized.

On the basis of responses to the question on educational goals and their scores on intensity of desire, boys and girls were classified into the three groups listed below. It was felt that this was the best grouping for identifying children who were more certainly high, and those who were more certainly low, in their educational aspirations.

High LOA:	goal of finishing four or more years of college plus high intensity of desire to go.
Medium LOA:	goal of finishing four or more years of college plus low intensity of desire to go; or, goal of a few years of college plus high intensity of desire to go.
Low LOA:	goal of a few years of college plus low intensity of desire to go; or, goal of finishing twelfth grade or less.

Boys and girls were classified as high or low on intensity of desire to go to college depending on whether their scale scores fell above or below the median of the distribution of scale scores.

Certainty of going to college.--Boys' and girls' feeling of certainty that they would or would not go to college was determined by their responses to the question,

> How sure are you that you are going to college? Very sure I'm going, pretty sure I'm going, pretty sure I'm not going, very sure I'm not going.

Social Class

A measure of social class, Hollingshead's Index of Social Position (ISP)[1], was used in the present research in both the study of educational aspirations and in the study of social class differences in school adjustment.[2] In the aspirations study the social class position of families was employed as an index of the home influences which supposedly determined the aspirations which boys and girls brought into the school situation. It was assumed that children from the same social class would tend to enter school with the same family-derived aspirations. In the study of school adjustment the measure of social class was used, as it more often is, to identify groups of families occupying roughly the same position in the social hierarchy and presumed to have in common a way of life, standards of behavior, values, etc.

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[1] August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position, New Haven, 1957. (Mimeographed)

[2] Social class is used in this study as a theoretical construct rather than as a substantive entity. The validity of the social-class frame of reference depends on the demonstrability of its empirical determinacy and of its predictive value.

Hollingshead's two factor Index of Social Position has been used to assign subjects to five social classes designated as: I--Upper Class, II--Upper-Middle Class, III--Lower-Middle Class. IV--Upper-Lower Class, and V--Lower-Lower Class.

The two factors employed in the ISP are ". . . (1) the precise occupational role the head of the household performs in the economy; and (2) the amount of formal schooling he has received."[1] Both factors are assigned scale scores that are then weighted and summed to form the ISP score. This score, in turn, is the basis for the assignment of Individuals to one of the five social-class groupings.[2]

The factors of occupation and education are described below in detail, since in addition to their being used in combination for the ISP rankings, each was separately tested as an index of children's family-derived aspirations.

Occupation of the head of the household.--Hollingshead's occupational scale ". . . is premised upon the assumption that occupations have different values attached to them by members of our society. The hierarchy ranges from low evaluation of unskilled labor toward the more prestigeful use of skill, through the creative talents of ideas, and the manipulation of men.[3]

The data on occupations of fathers was asked for in one of the two questionnaires filled out by the boys and girls. They were asked to answer the questions that follow for--

> your real father, if you live with him. If you are not living with your real father answer them about the man you live with who is supposed to be taking his place. It may be a step-father, foster father, an uncle or somebody else.
>
> a. Most of the time does he work for himself or somebody else? He works for himself or has his own business, he works for somebody else, I don't know what he does.
>
> b. What is his work most of the time? He_______________

It was possible in many instances to supplement the occupational data obtained from the children with information available in school records.

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[1] Ibid., pp.2-3.

[2] For a description of the validation of the ISP, see August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958, pp.398-407.

[3] Hollingshead, Two Factor Index, p.8.

Beyond this some occupational data were contained in a record kept by school nurses[1] in connection with a special study of the frequency of children's visits to them and of the nature of their complaints.

The mother, rather than the father (or father substitute), was presumed to be the head of the household in the families of thirty-two boys and thirty-five girls where (1) the child was living with the mother alone or with the mother and other relatives, and (2) the parents were separated or divorced or the father was deceased, and (3) the mother was employed part or full time.

Data on mothers' occupations were obtained from school records and from children's responses to the following questionnaire items:

> a. Does she have a job outside the home? Yes, part time; yes, full time; yes, only in the summer; no, she does not work outside the home.
>
> b. If she has a job, what is her job? She________________

In accord with ISP procedure, occupational scale scores 1 through 7, ranging from high to low rank, were assigned to broad groupings of particular job titles.[2]

Score	Occupational Group
1	Higher executives, proprietors, and major professionals
2	Business managers, proprietors of medium sized businesses, and lesser professionals
3	Administrative personnel, small independent businesses, and minor professionals
4	Clerical and sales workers, technicians, and owners of little businesses
5	Skilled manual employees
6	Machine operators and semi-skilled employees
7	Unskilled employees and relief recipients

Education of the head of the household.--"The educational scale is premised upon the assumption that men and women who possess similar educations will tend to have similar tastes and similar attitudes, and they will also tend to exhibit similar behavior patterns."[1]

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[1] The records of school nurses provided information on fathers' occupations for children who visited them at any time during a five-month period and who were living with both biological parents.

[2] Eighty-six per cent of the 1088 boys for whom family head's occupation was reported could be determinately coded on occupation of family head, while 14 per cent could not be coded with full determinacy. Similarly, 80 per cent of the 1079 girls for whom family head's occupation was reported could be determinately coded on occupation of family head, while 20 per cent could not be coded with full determinacy. For a discussion of indeterminacy of occupational rankings see Paul Wallin and Leslie C. Waldo, "Indeterminacies in Ranking of Fathers' Occupations," The Public Opinion Quarterly, 1964, 28, 287-292.

Data on parents', or parent substitutes', formal education were children's responses to the single item (for each parent), listed below. Parents were ranked from high to low in education in seven steps scored from 1 to 7. The item and scores (in parentheses) are:

> How far did he (she) go in school? Graduate degree[2](1), finished 4 or more years of college (2), went to college but didn't finish (3), finished grade 12 (4), grade 10 or 11 (5), grade 7, 8, or 9 (6), grade 6 or less (7).

Social class assignment procedures.--The steps indicated below were followed in assigning families to social class levels.

(1) Cases for which information on parental occupation and education were both available: the occupation scale score (weighted 7) was added to the education scale score (weighted 4) to obtain a total weighted score on the ISP that was converted to a social class level. The majority of cases (937 boys and 916 girls) were in this group.

(2) Cases for which only parental occupational data were available: in the cases of 151 boys and 165 girls social class assignments were based on the modal social class frequency found for each occupational level for the group of cases in (1), above.

(3) Cases for which only parental educational data were available: in the cases of 42 boys and 45 girls social class assignments were based on the modal social class frequency found for each educational level for the group of cases in (1), above.

It should be noted that only in group (1) above are social class assignments based on the two-factor ISP. Groups (2) and (3) are single factor assignments.

Parents' Educational Aspirations for Their Children

Data were obtained on fathers' and mothers' educational goals for their children from responses to the question,

> How far does he (she) want *you* to go in school?

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[1] Hollingshead, *Two Factor Index*, p.9.

[2] This category was omitted inadvertently from the response categories for the item. Some boys spontaneously listed their fathers' advanced degrees. In other instances the probability that a father had an advanced degree could be inferred from his occupation, as with doctors and professors. However, fathers having advanced degrees are probably underenumerated.

wants me to quit as soon as I can
to finish 9th grade
to finish 10th grade
to finish 11th grade
to finish 12th grade
to go to a college or university for a few years
to finish 4 or more years of college or university.

It should be noted that in responding to the above item children were reporting their perceptions of the educational goals held for them by their parents or substitute parents. It is assumed that, explicitly or otherwise, parents have communicated to their children the educational objectives they would like them to achieve and that the children's reports reflect these parental expectations.[1]

On the basis of their responses to the question about their fathers' educational goals for them, boys and girls were divided into three groups. These groups are (1) those whose fathers wanted them to finish the twelfth grade or less, (2) those whose fathers wanted them to go to a college or a university for a few years, and (3) those whose fathers wanted them to finish four or more years of college. Children were similarly grouped by their responses to the question about their mothers' educational aspirations for them.

Children's General Liking for School

Data on children's attitude toward school were obtained from their responses to a set of five questions. This set of items was intended to allow for ranking of boys and girls in terms of their over-all attitude to school. It was thought that the items would provide a measure of the net valence of children's feelings for school, that is, of the extent to which they were disposed to approach or withdraw from the school situation as a consequence of the interplay of the many variables which impinge on the child in the school situation--such as the enjoyment of the association with peers, satisfactions obtained from academic activity, relationships with teachers, and so forth. The items in the boys' scale are listed below by scale type in rank order from high to low on liking for school. The order of items in the girls' scale is B, A, C, D, E. The underlined responses to each question indicate the positive responses in the final dichotomization of the items when these are the same for boys as for girls, when the positive responses differ for boys and girls they are indicated by lower case letters at the end of the question.

Scale Type (Score)	Question
5	A. Do you ever feel you hate school? Always, most of the time, sometimes, hardly ever, never.

---

[1] See discussion of this assumption in Chapter 9.

4 B. Do you ever wish you never had to go to school? a. always, b. most of the time, c. sometimes, d. hardly ever, e. never. *Boys = d.,e; girls = e*.

3 C. How often do you feel you like school very much? *Always*, *most of the time,* sometimes, hardly ever, never.

2 D. Are there things about school you like very much? *I like everything about it*, *I like most things*, I like some things, I like a few things, there's hardly anything about school I like very much.

1 E. Do you have a good time at school? *Always*, *most of the time*, sometimes, hardly ever, never.

0 F. None of the above questions answered in the positive (underlined) direction.

The responses to the above questions formed a quasi-scale with a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .90 for boys and .92 for girls, having 143 errors after partial image analysis for boys and 58 for girls. Boys with scale scores of 4 or 5 and girls with scores of 5 are treated as high (and all others as low) on liking for school where this variable is dichotomized (at the approximate median of the distribution of scale scores of each sex).

Academic Ability

Scores on a standardized test of academic ability were obtained for each child from school records. The tests were those employed by the two school districts in which the schools of the study are located. The tests are (1) The School and College Achievement Test (SCAT)[1], used in the three middle-class suburban schools; and (2) The California Test of Mental Maturity (CTMM)[2], employed in the one middle-class and the three working-class metropolitan city schools. Children's total scores were converted to percentile ranks based on the national norms published for each test. The correlation between the tests has not been determined. It is assumed, however, that the test scores (converted into national percentile norms) provide a roughly comparable ranking of our subjects from high to low.

Academic Performance

The index of academic performance used in the present study was the average of the grades secured by students in English, mathematics, and social studies. The grades were those assigned in the last quarterly grading period of the school year.

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[1] Educational Testing Service, *School and College Ability Tests*, 4640 Hollywood Blvd., Los Angeles 27, California.

[2] California Test Bureau, *California Test of Mental Maturity*, 5916 Hollywood Blvd., Los Angeles 23, California, 1951.

Child-Parent Relationships

The study required a measure that would allow for the ranking of the subjects with respect to the favorability-unfavorability of their relationship to their parents. There are, of course, many dimensions of the child-parent relationship that can be perceived by the child as positive or negative and it is likely that they are moderately or highly intercorrelated. However, the time limit set by officials for the administration of the questionnaires and the fact that the questionnaire had to be short enough to permit the slowest students to answer all the questions within the time limit made it mandatory that the questionnaire be as brief and simple as possible. The decision was made, therefore, to develop measures of two dimensions descriptive of the extent to which children evaluate their parents favorably or unfavorably. The dimensions selected for purposes of this research were assumed to be especially appropriate relative to the need for emotional support and ego reinforcement thought to be more acute during adolescence. The two dimensions were used separately on the chance that one had more explanatory power than the other in the problem being studied.

The favorability of child-parent relationships was measured in two dimensions of the relationship with each parent. The measures pertaining to the child's relationship with his or her father or father substitute are (1) the child's perception of the extent to which the father is psychologically helpful to him or her in coping with problems and worries, and (2) the child's perception of the extent to which the father supports and reinforces his or her self-esteem. Both measures are presumed to index the over-all favorability of the child-father relationship. Two parallel measures index the favorability of the child-mother relationship.

Boys' and girls' responses to a series of items for each measure were found to meet the requirements of quasi-scales for each sex. The two measures of mother's and father's psychological helpfulness utilize boys' and girls' responses to the same set of five questions (separately for father and for mother), but the order in which the questions are arrayed from high to low favorability is different for father's than for mother's psychological helpfulness and the order also varies between boys and girls. This is also true of the measures of father's and mother's support for the child's self-esteem.

Each index of favorability of child-parent relationships is presented below. The positive response categories for the items when responses are dichotomized are indicated by lower case letters at the end of each question for boys and girls.

Perception of father as psychologically helpful.--The questions relating to this dimension of the child-father relationship are listed below by scale type in rank order from high to low favorability for the boys' scale. The scale order of items for the girls' scale is D, C, E, A, B.

Scale Type (Score)	Question
5	A. Is he the kind of person that is easy to talk to about most things that might be worrying you? a. Very easy to talk to, b. pretty easy, c. pretty hard, d. very hard to talk to. Boys = a; girls = a, b.
4	B. Most times when something is worrying or bothering you do you feel it will help you to talk to him about it? a. I'm very sure it will help, b. pretty sure it will help, c. pretty sure it will not help, d. I'm very sure it will not help. Boys = a; girls = a, b.
3	C. Do you ever feel he is not very much interested in anything that is worrying or bothering you? a. Never feel that way, b. hardly ever feel that way, c. sometimes, quite a few times, d. most times. Boys and girls = a.
2	D. Do you think he understands the sort of things that might worry or bother a person your age? a. He understands them very well, b. pretty well, c. not very well, d. he doesn't understand at all. Boys = a, b; girls = a.
1	E. Do you think he wants you to tell him when something is worrying or bothering you? a. I'm very sure he does, b. I'm pretty sure he does, c. I'm pretty sure he does not, d. I'm very sure he does not. Boys = a, b; girls = a.
0	None of the questions answered with the positive responses indicated above.

The Coefficient of Reproducibility for this set of items is .95 for the boys' scale with only one error remaining after partial image analysis.[1] The Coefficient of Reproducibility for the girls' scale was .94 with 20 final errors. Boys and girls with scale scores of 3, 4, or 5 are treated as high (and all others as low) on perception of father as being psychologically helpful where this variable is dichotomized. The cutting points for the dichotomies fall at the approximate median of the distribution of scale scores of each sex.

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[1] See Appendix A for the scaling procedures employed in this study.

Perception of mother as psychologically helpful.--The questions and the positive response categories relating to this dimension of the child-mother relationship for boys were the same set as listed above as relating to the child-father relationship, but the order from high to low in which the responses of the boys to the questions formed a scale for mothers was different, namely, B, A, C, E, D. The scale order of items for the girls' scale from high to low on perception of mother as psychologically helpful is B, D, A, E, C. The positive response categories for each question in the girls' scale are the same as those in the boys' scale with the exception of item C where responses (a) and (b) represent the positive responses for girls and (a) the positive response for boys. The Coefficient of Reproducibility for this scale is .93 for the boys' scale with no errors after partial image analysis. The Coefficient of Reproducibility for the girls' scale is .94 with 64 final errors after partial image analysis. Boys and girls with scale scores of 3, 4, or 5 are treated as high (and all others as low) on perception of mother as psychologically helpful where this variable is dichotomized. The cutting points for these dichotomies fall at the approximate median of the distribution of scale scores of each sex.

Perceived paternal support for self-esteem.--The questions relating to this dimension of the child-father relationship are listed below by scale type in rank order from high to low favorability for the boys' scale. The scale order of the items for the girls' scale is A, B, C, D, F, E. The positive response categories in the final dichotomization of responses are underlined, and are the same for boys and girls.

Scale Type (Score)		Question
6	A.	How often does he say or do something that gives you more confidence in yourself? *Many times*, quite a few times, sometimes, hardly ever, never.
5	B.	Does he ever say or do something which makes you feel as if you are the most important person in the world? *Many times*, *quite a few times,* sometimes, hardly ever, never.
4	C.	Does he ever say nice things about you even when there is no special reason for saying them? *Many times*, *quite a few times*, sometimes, hardly ever, never.
3	D.	Does he ever give you the feeling he's proud of you? *Many times*, *quite a few times*, sometimes, hardly ever, never.

2	E. Do you think he's pretty satisfied with you just the way you are? I'm very sure he is, pretty sure he is, I'm pretty sure he isn't, very sure he isn't.
1	F. Do you ever feel he expects you to be perfect in everything you do? Many times, quite a few times, sometimes, hardly ever, never.
0	None of the above questions answered with the favorable (underlined) responses.

The Coefficient of Reproducibility for this scale is .94 for the boys' scale and .93 for the girls' scale. Eleven errors remained after partial image analysis of the boys' scale and 35 errors for the girls. Boys with scale scores of 3, 4, 5, or 6 and girls with scale scores of 4, 5, or 6 are treated as high (and all others as low) on paternal support for self-esteem where this variable is dichotomized. The cutting points for the dichotomies fall at the approximate median of the distribution of scale scores of each sex.

Perceived maternal support for self-esteem.--The questions relating to this dimension of the child-mother relationship are listed below by scale type in rank order from high to low favorability for the boys' scale. The scale order of the items for the girls' scale is E, F, B, C, D, A. The positive response categories in the final dichotomization of the responses are underlined where they are the same for boys and girls, and they are indicated by lower case letters at the end of those questions where they differ for boys and girls.

Scale Type (Score)	Question
6	A. Does she ever say or do something which makes you feel as if you were the most important person in the world? a. Many times, b. quite a few times, c. sometimes, d. hardly, e. never. Boys = a; girls = a, b, c.
5	B. Does she ever give you the feeling that she's proud of you? Many times, quite a few times, sometimes, hardly ever, never.
4	C. Does she ever say nice things about you even when there is no special reason for saying them? Many times, quite a few times, sometimes, hardly ever, never.
3	D. How often does she say or do something that gives you more confidence in yourself? Many times, quite a few times, sometimes, hardly ever, never.

2 E. Do you ever feel she expects you to be perfect in everything you do? Many times, quite a few times, sometimes, hardly ever, never.

1 F. Do you think she's pretty satisfied with you just the way you are? a. I'm very sure she is, b. pretty sure she is, c. I'm pretty sure she isn't, d. very sure she isn't. Boys = a, b; girls = a.

0 None of the above questions answered with the favorable (underlined) responses.

The Coefficient of Reproducibility for the boys' scale is .91 with sixty-nine errors after partial image analysis. The Coefficient of Reproducibility for the girls' scale is .93 with 61 final errors. Boys and girls with scale scores of 4, 5, or 6 are treated as high (and all others as low) on maternal support for self-esteem where this variable is dichotomized. The cutting points for the dichotomies fall at the approximate median of the distribution of scale scores of each sex.

For convenience of exposition, the variables relating to favorability of child-parent relationships henceforth will be designated as follows: (1) boys' or girls' perceptions of their fathers' or mothers' psychological helpfulness in coping with problems and worries will be spoken of as "father's (mother's) helpfulness," and (2) boys' or girls' reported perceptions of their fathers or mothers as sources of support for self-esteem will be referred to as "paternal (maternal) esteem."

Variables Used in the Study of Social Class Differences in School Adjustment

The variables described in this section relate to two perspectives on adjustment: (1) children's adjustment in school (self-reports and other data) and, (2) teacher ratings of the children.

Children's Adjustment in School

Three variables used in the analysis of children's adjustment in school have been described in earlier sections of this chapter. They are academic ability (intelligence test score rankings), academic performance (average grade), and liking for school.

Difficulty with school subjects.--Data on children's perception of the difficulty of their school subjects were their responses to the question:

> How many of your school subjects do you find are pretty hard or very hard? None, one, two, three, four or more.

Self-Appraisal of academic performance.--Data on children's sense of adequacy with respect to their academic ability were their responses to the question:

> Do you ever have the feeling that you are not much good at school work? Always, most of the time, sometimes, hardly ever, never.

Relations with teachers.--Boys' and girls' responses to a set of four questions on relations with teachers formed a scale for each sex with a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .93 for the boys' and the girls' scales. There were 45 final errors after partial image analysis for the boys' scale and no final errors for the girls' scale.

The items in the scale are listed below by scale type in rank order for boys from high to low. The scale order of the items for girls is A, D, B, C. The positive response categories in the final dichotomization of responses for each question are underlined when they are the same for boys and girls, and are indicated by lower case letter at the end of the question when they differ for boys and girls.

Scale Type (Score)		Question
4	A.	Do you feel your teachers treat you fairly? All of them do, most of them do, some of them do, none of them do.
3	B.	I think all my teachers like me. Yes, no.
2	C.	How well do you think most of your teachers understand your feelings? Very well, pretty well, not very well, not at all.
1	D.	How often does a teacher say or do something that makes you feel angry? a. Never. b. hardly ever, c. sometimes, d. quite a few times, e. many times. Boys = a, b, c, and girls = a, b.
0		None of the questions answered with the favorable responses indicated above.

Boys and girls with scale scores of 3 or 4 are treated as high on relations with teachers (and all others as low) where this variable is dichotomized. The cutting point for the dichotomy falls at the approximate median of the distribution of scale scores of each sex.

Children's difficulty with school regulations.--This was assessed by responses to the item,

> I find it hard to obey some school rules and regulations. Yes, no.

School justice.--As perceived by children this was measured by their responses to the statement

> Sometimes I get blamed unfairly at school for things I didn't do. Yes, no.

Happiness in class.--Boys' and girls' responses to a set of three questions relating to their happiness in class formed a scale for each sex with a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .94 for the boys' scale and of .96 for the girls' scale. There were no final errors after partial image analysis for either scale.

The items in the scale are listed below by scale type in rank order from high to low on happiness in class for the boys' scale. The scale order of the items for girls is A, C, B. The positive response categories in the final dichotomization of the responses for each question are underlined when they are the same for boys and girls and are indicated by lower case letters at the end of the question when they differ for boys and girls.

Scale Type (Score)		Question
3	A.	Do you ever feel very unhappy when you are in class? Many times, quite a few times, just once in a while, *never*.
2	B.	Do you feel happy when you are in class at school? *All of the time*, *most of the time*, some of the time, hardly ever, never.
1	C.	Is there anything that keeps you from being happy most of the time when you are in class? a. Nothing at all, b. just one thing, c. 2 or 3 things, d. many things. *Boys = a, b*; *girls = a*.
0		None of the questions answered with the favorable responses indicated above.

Boys and girls with scale scores of 2 or 3 are treated as high on happiness in class (and all others as low) where this variable is dichotomized. The cutting point for the dichotomy falls at the approximate median of the distribution of scale scores of each sex.

Holding student office.--The data on holding student office were children's responses to the following question:

> Have you been an officer on the student council or in your home room this year or in the 7th grade? No, yes.

Participation in extra-curricular activities.--Boys' and girls' responses to a set of three questions on participation in extra-curricular activities formed a scale for each sex with a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .92 for the boys' scale and of .94 for the girls' scale. There were no final errors after partial image analysis for either scale.

The items in the scale are listed below by scale type in rank order from high to low participation in extra-curricular activities for boys. The scale-type order of the items for girls is B, C, A. The positive responses for boys and for girls are indicated at the end of each question.

Scale Type (Score)		Question
3	A.	Since school started in September, *outside of your regular classes*, how many *school clubs* have you taken part in? (Like swimming club, athletic club, camera club, glee club, dramatic club, chess club, and so on) *Boys = 2 or more; Girls = 1 or more*.
2	B.	How many school athletic teams (playing against other schools) have you been on since September? *Boys and girls = one or more*.
1	C.	*Not counting clubs*, how many *school activities* have you taken part in since September? (Like talent show, operetta, assembly and so on) *Boys = one or more; girls = 2 or more*.
0		None of the questions answered with the favorable responses indicated above.

Boys and girls with scale scores of 2 or 3 are treated as high on participation in extra-curricular activities (and all others as low) where this variable is dichotomized. The cutting point for the dichotomy falls at the approximate median of the distribution of scale scores of each sex.

Sociometric standing with same-sex peers (objective peer status).--Data on children's objective sociometric standing with same-sex peers consists of the number of choices as desired best friend each subject received from others of the same sex in the eighth grade of his or her school. The data were children's responses to the following question:

> *If you could choose*, what three boys (girls) in the whole eighth grade would you like most to have as your best friends? *Print* their first and last names.

Sociometric studies often include a favorable and an unfavorable category of sociometric selection. This study did not use the negative selection category of being named as a person least wanted as best friend. Persons of low objective peer status, therefore, should be thought of as individuals to whom their peers are relatively indifferent rather than as persons who are disliked or rejected.

Illness absences.--Data on children's illness absences--the number of times a child was recorded absent from school because of illness during the five-month period from January 1st to the end of the school year--were obtained from school records. A child is officially recorded as absent because of illness when a note from a parent states the absence is due to illness. In some instances such absences undoubtedly involve feigned illness. In others the child may simply not want to go to school and the mother is willing to accept the situation and legitimize it with an illness note. In either of these cases the withdrawal from school is very likely an indication of the child's experiencing some adjustment difficulties in the school situation. In many instances, however, absence from school may be due to illness which is unrelated to school adjustment. Consequently absence from school because of illness is necessarily a very crude measure of school adjustment.[1]

Visits to the school nurse.--Data on the number of visits by children to the school nurse for first aid or because of not feeling well have been drawn from two sources. The first source is the record kept by the school nurse in each school of the number of visits to her by eighth grade children for first aid or because of not feeling well during the five-month period from January 1 to the end of the school year. For children who had visits recorded by the nurse, their score on this variable consists of the number of visits recorded.

The second source of data was utilized only for children who had not been reported by the nurse as having visited her during the specified period.[2] These data are the responses of children to the following question.

> Since the first of the year (January 1st) how many times have you gone to the school nurse for first aid or because you were not feeling well? Never, 1 time, 2 or 3 times, 4 or 5 times, 6 times or more.

Comparability of Scale Scores of Boys and Girls

Throughout the report the data for boys and girls are reported separately but in the same tables. In some instances individual cell comparisons can be made between the sexes. In others, however, comparisons are not warranted (a) because the data for boys and girls yielded different cutting points in the scaling of responses on individual items, or (b) the scale ordering of items was not the same for both sexes, or (c) the dichotomization of scale scores did not fall at the same point on their distribution of scale scores.

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[1] Negative findings in analyses of illness absences as a measure of school adjustment therefore cannot be regarded as conclusive. By the same token positive findings would be conservative.

[2] The various reasons for this non-reporting are not germane here.

The boys and girls can be directly compared on:

Educational goals
Intensity of desire to go to college
Level of aspiration
Certainty of going to college
Family social class
Occupation of the head of the household
Education of the head of the household
Father's education
Mother's education
Parental educational aspirations for their children
Average grade (academic performance)
Difficult school subjects
Self-appraisal of academic performance
Student office holding
Illness absences
Visits to the school nurse
Sociometric standing with same-sex peers

The boys and girls cannot be directly compared on:

Paternal helpfulness
Maternal helpfulness
Paternal esteem
Maternal esteem
Liking for school
Intelligence test score quartiles
Happiness in class
Relations with teachers
Participation in extra-curricular activities

Teachers' Ratings of Boys and Girls

Anyone having any familiarity with the multiple demands and pressures under which teachers work can hardly help but hesitate in imposing any additional burden upon them. The principals of the schools in our study being fully appreciative of this fact were most reluctant to officially "request" that the teachers cooperate with us by rating the subjects of our study. By way of minimizing this imposition we offered the teachers a token monetary compensation for what we were asking them to do. Most of the teachers were, we believe,cooperative and conscientious in their ratings of the children. Some of them simply did not have the time to make the ratings and a few were, for one reason or another, not disposed to cooperate. This explains why, in some cases, ratings of children were not obtained from the teachers in the four courses in which all children were enrolled.

Teachers of English, mathematics, social studies, and physical education rated the boys and girls in their eighth grade classes on each of eighteen items:

TO WHAT EXTENT IS THIS CHILD USUALLY:

Happy and cheerful
Self-confident; sure of himself (herself)
Popular with other children
One who gets along well with others
Energetic; full of pep
All things considered (personality, appearance, etc.) how attractive or unattractive is this child?
How would you rate this child's over-all personality adjustment?
Quarrelsome with other children
"Mad at the world"; one with a chip on the shoulder
One who teases and makes fun of others
A discipline problem
Easily discouraged
One who feels inferior or inadequate
Sad; depressed; in low spirits
Anxious or tense
One whose feelings are easily hurt
Withdrawn; tending to keep to himself (herself)
Timid; shy

The rating categories for all but two items were in a five-step scale of the extent to which each child usually manifested the characteristic in question: "extremely," "very," "somewhat," "only a little," "not at all." The rating categories for the appraisal of attractiveness were: "very attractive," "quite attractive," "rather unattractive," and "quite unattractive." The rating categories for the appraisal of "over-all personality adjustment" were: "very poor, poor, fair, good, very good, excellent."

The raw data were then ratings of each child by 1 to 4 teachers on the 18 indicated items. These ratings were averaged for each child on each trait that had been rated by 2, 3, or 4 teachers.[1] Children rated by less than two teachers on a given item were not assigned an average rating on that item. All but a few children were rated by three or four teachers. The intercorrelations[1] were then obtained of the averaged teacher ratings on each item with all other items. This was done for boys and girls separately.

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[1] Unfortunately, we did not recognize until after the data had been analyzed that it would have been desirable to normalize the ratings of individual teachers on each trait before averaging the ratings given to each child by various teachers. This would have helped to compensate for differences between teachers in the tendency to consistently rate relatively high or low on given traits. This tendency is partially taken account of by the averaging process.

The two intercorrelation matrices--one for boys and one for girls--were factor-analyzed to discover the minimum number of underlying dimensions that might be operating in the teacher's ratings of students. The principal factor solution[2] of the matrix of gamma correlations subsequently rotated toward orthogonal simple structure by the normal varimax criterion[3] was employed.[4] Three factors were discovered for the correlation matrix of teacher ratings of boys and girls. The three factors accounted for 97.8 per cent of the variance in the boys' matrix and for 98.9 per cent of the variance in the girls' matrix. The correlations of boys' and girls' scores on each of the 18 items with each factor are given below.

Teachers' Ratings	Boys' Factors I	II	III	Girls' Factors I	II	III
Happy	.74	.11	-.46	.86	-.13	-.31
Self-Confident	.61	.13	-.51	.70	-.05	-.45
Popular	.82	-.11	-.34	.88	-.19	-.20
Gets along well	.82	-.36	-.26	.78	-.47	-.20
Energetic	.68	.33	-.47	.85	.09	-.26
Attractive	.75	-.25	-.17	.74	-.30	-.11
Well Adjusted	.78	-.37	-.32	.74	-.48	-.27
Quarrelsome	-.22	.89	.07	-.05	.94	.11
Mad at World	-.34	.77	.26	-.35	.86	.22
Teases	.07	.94	.15	.10	.94	-.02
Discipline Problem	-.09	.94	.14	-.11	.93	-.01
Easily discouraged	-.27	.32	.69	-.36	.34	.74
Feels inferior	-.44	.15	.71	-.54	.19	.68
Sad	-.32	.35	.78	-.58	.28	.62
Anxious	-.10	.32	.73	-.16	.21	.84
Easily hurt	-.02	.42	.78	-.19	.32	.80
Withdrawn	-.43	-.32	.71	-.68	-.19	.54
Timid	-.20	-.53	.72	-.53	-.43	.59

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[1] Using the gamma nonparametric measure of association; see Goodman, L.A. and Kruskal, W.H., "Measures of Association for Cross-Classification," Journal of the American Statistical Association, 1954, 49, pp.732-764.

[2] The best recent summary is Harmon, Harry, Modern Factor Analysis, University of Chicago Press, 1960.

[3] Kaiser, H.F., "The Varimax Criterion for Analytic Rotation in Factor Analysis," Psychometrika, 1958, 23, pp.187-200.

[4] These procedures were programmed in Balgol for the Burroughs 220 computer by John Caffrey, Director of Research, Palo Alto Unified School District, Palo Alto, California on February 26, 1962. It is available as Certified Program No.145, The Stanford Computation Center, Stanford, California.

The patterns of the correlations of each item with each of the three factors are essentially the same for boys as for girls.

Interpretation of Factors

For both boys and girls, Factor I is defined by the items that have high positive correlations with this factor. These are: happy and cheerful; self-confident, sure of himself (herself); popular with others; energetic, full of pep; all things considered this is an attractive child; and good over-all personality adjustment. We have labeled this factor well-adjusted. The meaning of Factor II is suggested by the items correlating highly and positively with this factor. These items, which were the same for boys and girls, are: quarrelsome with other children; "mad at the world, one with a chip on the shoulder"; teases and makes fun of others; a discipline problem. We have labeled this factor aggressive-maladjustment. The interpretation of Factor III is suggested by the items having high positive correlations with this factor. These are: easily discouraged; feels inferior or inadequate; sad, depressed, in low spirits; anxious or tense; feelings easily hurt; withdrawn, tending to keep to himself (herself); timid, shy. We have labeled this factor anxious-withdrawn maladjustment.

Individual Factor Scores

Subsequent to the determination of Factor I, II, and III as operative in the averaged teacher ratings, boys and girls were assigned individual scores on each of the three factors. These individual factor scores were derived from their raw scores on averaged teacher ratings on the initial eighteen items following procedures presented by Harmon.[1]

The factor analysis of the teacher ratings has, incidentally, provided noteworthy results in that an underlying structure of appraisal is demonstrated that is coherent and that is comprehensive in accounting for the variance. Teachers' ratings as an over-all general[2] phenomena have order and coherence.

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[1] Harmon, H.H., op.cit., pp.337-348. These procedures were programmed for this project in Balgol for the IBM 7090 computer by Ronald H. Pyszka (Factor Score Program No. 1, Stanford Institute for Communication Research, Stanford, California.)

[2] This is true when 2 to 4 teachers' ratings are averaged on each of the eighteen items for each individual. Over-all agreement between English, social studies, mathematics, and physical education teachers on ratings of individual students was exceedingly low! Either inter-teacher ratings reliability is discouragingly low, or there is considerable variability in the personality and behavior children evidence with different teachers. The answer to this question lies beyond the focus of this study. This rating instability at the inter-teacher level does not appear to disrupt the order and (Footnote continued on next page)

Evaluation of the Significance of the Findings

We have not used tests of statistical significance in evaluating the findings relating to various hypotheses of the study. Rather, we based our judgments as to the confidence with which various results can be accepted on the pattern and consistency of the findings. The data necessary for calculating levels of significance are provided for readers interested in doing so.

(Footnote continued from preceding page)
coherence underlying composite (averaged) judgments of students at the inter-student level of comparison.

Omission of operational definitions or specifications of traits to be judged by teachers perhaps contributed to low inter-teacher rating reliability, but the factor analysis demonstrates that, in general, teachers used the specified items in a consistent and coherent fashion.

CHAPTER 4

SCHOOL AND FAMILY INFLUENCES ON EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Introduction and Overview

The major question we sought to answer by the data analysis reported in this chapter was whether the educational aspirations developed in adolescents by a variety of familial influences tend to change when they are confronted in school by children a majority of whom share a higher (or lower) level of aspiration.[1] The presumption of a study by Wilson, which served as the major point of departure for the present investigation of this question, was that a change does tend to occur and that it is occasioned essentially by the influence of the aspirations of the majority on those of the minority.[2] This presumption could be most decisively tested by (a) enrolling a minority of students with a known level of aspiration in a school in which the aspirations of the majority were known to be at a higher level than that of the minority, and (b) similarly placing a minority in a school in which the aspirations of the majority were at a lower level than that of the minority. The evidence of such a study would support the hypothesis to the extent that, after some specified interval, the aspirations of the minority in both situations shifted in the direction of the aspiration level shared by the majority.

Short of such an experiment, one can make the assumption, as Wilson did, that students with similar social origins tend to acquire similar educational aspirations in their homes.[1] The influence of the school majority can then be evaluated, as in Wilson's research, ". . . by comparing the aspirations of students with similar social origins who attend schools characterized by different climates of aspiration."[2] Up to a point our research roughly paralleled this procedure.[3]

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[1] A question of secondary interest in the data analysis was whether the aspirations of Negro boys and girls were similar to those of white children of roughly comparable family background.

[2] As phrased by Wilson his hypothesis was that ". . . the aspirations of the bulk of the students in a high school district provide a significant normative reference influencing the educational aspirations of boys from varying strata. . . ." *Op. cit.*, p. 837.

We first used the social class position of children's families (determined by a weighted combination of occupational rank and education of the family head) as an index of the educational values which boys and girls acquire at home. Our data revealed (Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3) an impressive association between family-social class and (a) children's educational goals, (b) the intensity of their desire to go to college, and (c) a measure of their level of aspiration for higher education. This provided rough justification for the assumption that children of similar background tend to have similar aspirations. We then examined the level of aspiration of boys and girls in the seven individual schools of our study and found (Table 4.4) that the schools differed substantially in the modal level of aspiration of the children attending them. In the schools we have characterized as "middle class," boys and girls tend to have a high level of aspiration whereas those in schools we have designated "working class", tend to have a low level.[4]

The data of Table 4.5 show the level of aspiration of children when they are grouped by their family social-class position and by whether they attend a predominantly middle-class or working-class school. These data constitute the first test of the hypothesis that students with essentially the same social origins (indexing comparable familial influences with respect to educational values) will vary in their aspirations if they attend schools which differ in their climates of aspiration. The data are consistent with the hypothesis for boys of Class III and for girls of Classes III and IV but the numbers of students in each of the five social classes permit a relatively reliable test of the hypothesis only for those whose families are in Classes III or IV. The tendency of school districting to segregate children of different social strata leads to there being few children of Class V in the middle-class schools and few of Classes I or II in the working-class schools.

In an attempt to increase the number of groups which could be compared for testing school influence boys and girls were classified, in turn, by the occupation of the family head, and by their fathers' and mothers' educational level. Each of these variables -- like family social class --

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[1] The limitations of this assumption will be discussed later in the chapter.

[2] Op. cit., p. 837.

[3] Our summary comments on procedure and findings are for children of the white schools only. The Negro school is dealt with in the body of the chapter.

[4] See Chapter 3 for a description of the basis on which the schools were categorized as "middle class" or "working class."

was treated as an index of the influences supposedly determinative of the level of educational aspiration acquired at home by the child and brought to the school situation. The hypothesized influence of school type was then appraised by comparing the aspirations of students similar on each of the three variables but attending schools which differed in their modal level of aspiration. The data relating to these comparisons are given in Tables 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8 which show that at a number of levels children who are alike with respect to the occupational rank of the head of their family, or their father's or mother's education, tend to have different educational aspirations in working-class and middle-class schools. As noted above, this was also true for children at certain social class levels.

The findings of the data analysis to this point were consistent with Wilson's hypothesis of school influence for boys and girls. However, at this juncture a measure was used from which the educational aspirations acquired by children in the home could be more directly inferred. The measure in question was the reports by boys and girls of how much schooling their fathers and mothers wanted them to have. On the basis of these reports children were divided into those whose fathers wanted them to have less than four years of college and those whose fathers wanted them to have four or more years of college. The influence of school was then appraised by examining the level of aspiration of these two groups of children in schools (working-class) in which the modal level of aspiration was low and in schools (middle-class) in which it was high. The data showing this comparison are presented in Table 4.9 and parallel data for the children grouped by their mothers' aspirations for them are given in Table 4.10. The data of both Tables reveal that given parents with high aspirations for their children the proportions of children with high aspirations is essentially the same in the working- and middle-class schools. This is also the case with children whose parents have low aspirations for them. In short, these data do not support Wilson's hypothesis of school influence. It is interesting to note, however, that parents at each educational level tend to have higher aspirations for their children in middle-class than in working-class schools. (Table 4.11)

Wilson's study differed from ours in his use of educational goal (how far the subjects wanted to go in school) as the dependent variable in contrast to our measure of level of aspiration. For direct comparison of our findings with Wilson's, Table 4.12 classifies the boys of our study by their educational goal, by their father's education and aspirations for them and by school type. The data show that when account is taken of fathers' aspirations for their sons, some indication of school influence remains but the influence is less than found in Wilson's research. None remains, however, in the case of the girls.

Before turning to the detailed consideration of the tables the reader's attention is directed to a few conventions used henceforth as a matter of convenience in exposition. "LOA" serves as an abbreviation for boys' and girls' level of educational aspiration. "Type of school" or "class composition of school" refers to whether it is predominantly of middle-

TABLE 4.1 -- Percentages of boys and girls in each social class reporting indicated educational goal

Social Class	Educational Goal Grade 12 or less[a]	 Some College	 College Graduation or more	Total %	 N
BOYS					
White					
I	2	7	91	100	88
II	5	12	83	100	230
III	5	26	69	100	255
IV	27	29	44	100	339
V	41	33	26	100	66
Negro					
IV	24	30	46	100	33
V	35	33	32	100	57
GIRLS					
White					
I	3	15	82	100	100
II	4	18	79	101	227
III	11	27	63	101	258
IV	29	34	38	101	321
V	44	33	23	100	69
Negro					
IV	22	37	41	100	46
V	16	27	57	100	49

[a] Very few boys or girls reported they wanted to leave school before finishing the 12th grade.

In this table and those that follow, boys and girls for whom data were lacking on the variables utilized in the table have been excluded from the analysis.

class or working-class composition. When comparisons are made between these two "types" of schools it is in terms of the fact that they differ in the modal level of aspiration of their students. Classes I, II, III, IV and V when referred to singly are sometimes respectively named upper-class, upper-middle class, lower-middle class, upper-working class and lower-working class. When the terms "middle class" and "working class" are used without qualification the former usually implies the combination of Classes I, II and III and the latter the combination of Classes IV and V. Finally, when reference is made to "school influence" or "influence of school type" the influence in question is that of the school's modal level of aspiration, its "climate of aspiration."

Social Class and Educational Aspirations

Social Class and Educational Goal

The data of Table 4.1 reveal a striking positive correlation between the social class of white boys and the educational goals they report, i.e., how far they want to go in their schooling. At the extremes 91 per cent of Class I boys say they want four years of college or more, whereas only 26 per cent of Class V boys indicate this as their goal. Conversely, only 2 per cent of the former, compared with 41 per cent of the latter, want to leave school at high school graduation or in a few cases, even sooner.

Comparisons of the Negro boys are limited to those in Classes IV and V. (There were too few Negro boys -- or girls -- in the classes above these to permit any meaningful analysis.) As with the white boys, the data show that the Negro IV's set their educational sights higher than the V's. The Negro and white boys at these levels report essentially the same goals.

The association between the social class of white girls and their educational goals is similar to that noted for boys. A very minor difference between the sexes appears in those belonging to Class I; 9 per cent more boys than girls want four or more years of college whereas 8 per cent more of the girls have some college as their goal.

The findings for the Negro girls of Classes IV and V run counter to the pattern observed in the preceding comparisons in that 16 per cent more of the V's than of the IV's report they desire four or more years of college. This apparent anomaly is clarified by data presented later in the chapter. Sufficient to say at this point that in a sense it is an artifact of the determination of social-class position.

Social Class and Intensity of Desire to Go to College

The data of Table 4.2 show the relation between their social class and the extent of boys' and girls' desire to go to college as measured by

TABLE 4.2 -- Percentages of boys and girls in each social class with low and high motivation for college

Social Class	Motivation to Go to College			
	Low	High	Total %	Total N
BOYS				
White				
I	29	71	100	93
II	31	69	100	230
III	43	57	100	254
IV	59	41	100	338
V	66	34	100	67
Negro				
IV	59	41	100	35
V	59	41	100	56
GIRLS				
White				
I	27	73	100	99
II	34	66	100	227
III	42	58	100	258
IV	64	36	100	320
V	78	22	100	69
Negro				
IV	64	36	100	45
V	42	58	100	48

a five-item scale. For the white boys the pattern of association closely resembles that observed in Table 4.1. The percentage of boys who are high on desire for college -- above the median on the distribution of scale scores -- decreases consistently from 71 in the upper class (I) to 34 in the lower-working class (V).

Negro boys in Class IV and V do not differ in the proportion who are high on desire for college. As with educational goal there is a slight difference between Negro and white boys of Class V -- favoring the former -- in the proportion who are high on desire for college.

The desire for college of the white girls, like that of boys, is consistently linked to their social-class position. A small sex difference is manifest in Classes IV and V, girls in these strata -- particularly those in V -- being less likely than boys to be high on desire for college. The data for Negro girls reveal the same reversal for Classes IV and V as was found with respect to educational goal.

Social Class and Level of Aspiration (LOA)

As pointed out previously, level of aspiration (LOA) is a measure which combines children's specified educational goal and their score on the scale descriptive of how strongly they desire to go to college. On the basis of this measure boys and girls are classified as having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA).[1]

Table 4.3 shows the proportions of boys and girls in the various classes with a low, medium or high LOA. In general, as was to be expected, the association between social class and LOA is similar to the relation of class to educational goal and intensity of desire for college attendance.

Of interest is the fact that at each class level the proportion of white boys having a low LOA is smaller than that of white girls. Although the differences are small their consistency argues for the reliability of an over-all sex difference in low LOA. In Classes IV and V, boys are more likely than girls to have a high LOA.

There is some indication of a difference between Negro and white boys in Classes IV and V. Although both groups have the same proportions with a high LOA, the Negro V's are more likely to have a medium LOA and the white V's a low LOA. Comment on the Negro girls is deferred until later in the chapter.

The data of Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 demonstrate a close association between children's social class position and their educational aspirations. As noted above this provides some justification for the use of social class on an index of familial values with respect to education. It should be appreciated, however, that the evidence supporting the

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[1] See Chapter 3 for a description of the differentiation of the three categories.

TABLE 4.3 -- Percentages of boys and girls in each social class with a low, medium, or high level of educational aspiration (LOA)

Social Class	Level of Aspiration			Total	
	Low*	Medium*	High*	%	N
BOYS					
White					
I	9	19	72	100	88
II	7	26	67	100	228
III	24	26	50	100	252
IV	47	18	35	100	337
V	62	17	21	100	66
Negro					
IV	54	12	34	100	35
V	49	33	18	100	57
GIRLS					
White					
I	16	14	70	100	99
II	16	23	61	100	227
III	30	22	49	101	258
IV	52	23	25	100	319
V	70	19	12	101	69
Negro					
IV	48	28	24	100	46
V	29	27	44	100	48

*See textual discussion of level of aspiration (Chapter 3) for definitions of the three levels of aspiration used in this and subsequent tables.

TABLE 4.4 -- Percentages of boys and girls in each of the middle-class and working-class schools having a low, medium, or high level of aspiration (LOA)

School	Level of Aspiration			Total	
	Low	Medium	High	%	N
		BOYS			
Middle-Class					
1	13	23	64	100	158
2	22	21	57	100	148
3	23	28	49	100	164
4	29	23	48	100	118
Working-Class					
5	42	21	37	100	272
6	51	18	31	100	176
7 (Negro)	49	23	28	100	126*
		GIRLS			
Middle-Class					
1	23	16	61	100	150
2	24	23	54	101	127
3	21	26	53	100	169
4	29	26	46	101	169
Working-Class					
5	49	20	32	101	226
6	60	18	22	100	179
7 (Negro)	40	29	32	101	130*

*The totals for school 7, the Negro school, include the middle-class as well as the working-class children. In all other tables the middle-class children are excluded because their number was too small to permit meaningful analysis.

index represents a confounding of the influence of home and school since the aspirations of children are measured after their exposure to the climate of aspiration of their schools. The same limitation is inherent in the use of fathers' occupational rank or of parents' education as an index of familial influence on children's educational aspirations. As a measure of family influence in this regard, parents' educational aspirations for their children are less vulnerable to this objection.

Influence of School Climate of Aspiration

Level of Aspiration (LOA) in Individual Schools

Before turning to our first test of the hypothesis of school influence we present in Table IV the distribution of LOA's of boys and girls in the seven schools included in our study. The schools are ranked from 1 to 7 by the proportions of their students from middle-class families (Classes I, II and III combined). Two thirds or more of the students in the schools designated as middle-class come from these families as compared with less than one third of the students in the schools characterized as working-class.

As was to be anticipated from the data already reported on family social class and LOA, we note in Table 4.4 that the percentages of boys and girls with a high LOA is positively correlated -- and the percentages with a low LOA is negatively correlated -- with the ranking of schools. Only the girls in the Negro school depart from the consistent pattern. This will be explained below.

In our tests of the hypothesis of school influence (Tables 4.5-4.11) we have combined schools 1 to 4 for comparison with schools 5 and 6 combined. (The Negro school does not figure in the tests, comparisons being drawn between it and the working-class schools only.) The indicated combinations of schools yielded one set in which the modal LOA was high and another in which it was low.

Social Class and School Influence

With the data of Table 4.5 we come to the first test of the hypothesis that the climate of aspiration of schools influences the aspirations acquired by children from their families. Table 4.5 classifies boys and girls by their family social-class position and by whether they are in a school having a majority of middle-class or working-class students. Evidence consistent with the hypothesis would be provided by the finding that children of the same social class (i.e., those presumably exposed to similar influences at home with respect to the development of their educational aspirations) have higher (or lower) LOA's in a working-class school than in a middle-class school (the social class composition of the school being an index of its climate of aspiration).

TABLE 4.5 -- Percentages of boys and girls with low, medium or high level of educational aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by family social class and school type

Family Social Class	White Schools								Negro School			
	Middle Class				Working Class				Working Class			
	Aspiration Level				Aspiration Level				Aspiration Level			
	Low	Medium	High	N	Low	Medium	High	N	Low	Medium	High	N
					BOYS							
I	5	21	74	(78)[a]	40	10	50	(10)	-	-	-	-
II	13	21	66	(201)	19	14	67	(27)	-	-	-	-
III	20	26	54	(162)	31	26	43	(90)	-	-	-	-
IV	45	23	32	(110)	48	20	32	(227)	54	12	34	(35)
V	33	45	22	(9)	62	17	21	(57)	49	33	18	(57)
					GIRLS							
I	16	15	69	(92)	14	-	86	(7)	-	-	-	-
II	15	25	60	(202)	24	12	64	(25)	-	-	-	-
III	28	20	52	(174)	33	25	42	(84)	-	-	-	-
IV	40	27	33	(114)	59	21	21	(205)	48	28	24	(46)
V	58	33	8	(12)	72	16	12	(57)	29	27	44	(48)

[a] Parentheses enclose the number of cases in the base of the three percentages to the left which, due to rounding, total between 99 and 101.

Examination of Table 4.5 reveals -- as pointed out earlier -- that there are virtually no Class V boys or girls in the middle-class schools, and almost no Class I's and only a small number of Class II's in the working-class schools. The Negro school has no upper-class (I) boys or girls, almost none from the upper-middle class (II) and just a few from lower-middle class (III) families.

Looking at the distributions of LOA's it can be seen that both within the predominantly middle-class and working-class schools family social class exerts a substantial influence on the aspirations of boys and girls. This can be observed in the consistent differences between the LOA's of children in Classes I to IV in the white, middle-class schools and again in the differences between the LOA's of children in Classes II to V of the white, working-class schools. The social class difference also obtains for the boys of Class IV and V of the Negro school. The Negro girls of these levels, as in the data of the earlier tables, constitute the one exception to the pattern. The explanation for this will appear shortly.

Our major interest in Table 4.5, however, is in the LOA of children of the same social class when they are in schools which differ in their class composition, and accordingly in their climate of aspiration. In this regard the data allow for comparison of white children in Classes II, III and IV although the few children of Class II in working-class schools make comparison at this level of suggestive value only. (Comparison of Negro children with white children in working-class schools is obviously restricted to Classes IV and V.)

We first consider the influence of school type for white boys. The distributions of LOA in Classes II, III and IV in the two types of schools indicates a difference only at the Class III level. In this stratum 54 per cent have a high LOA in the middle-class schools, as compared with 43 per cent in the working-class schools. And conversely, 20 per cent of the former and 31 per cent of the latter have low LOA's. The relation between LOA and family social class within types of schools is much more significant in magnitude than is the association between LOA and type of school for children at the same class level.

The difference between working-class Negro and white boys at the Class IV level is negligible. At the Class V level, however, Negro boys are more likely than white boys to have medium LOA's (33 per cent vs 17 per cent) and less likely to have low LOA's (49 per cent vs 62 per cent).

The influence of the climate of aspiration of their schools appears to be greater for the white girls than for the boys. At the three levels at which comparisons can be made, (II, III, IV) the girls' LOA's tend to be higher in the middle-class schools than in the working-class schools. The difference is greatest for those of Class IV; 59 per cent of girls at this level have a low LOA if they are in a working-class school as contrasted with 40 per cent if they are in a middle-class school.

TABLE 4.6 -- Level of aspiration (LOA) of boys and girls by social-class composition of schools and by occupation of family head

Social Class of School and Occupation of Family Head	Level of Aspiration Low	Medium	High	Total %	N
BOYS					
Middle-class Schools					
Major white-collar	11	20	69	100	268
Minor white-collar	20	26	54	100	167
Skilled manual	49	26	25	100	76
Semi- and unskilled	39	22	39	100	18
Working-class Schools					
Major white-collar	24	16	60	100	45
Minor white-collar	35	26	39	100	141
Skilled manual	50	19	31	100	134
Semi- and unskilled	62	15	23	100	77
Working-class School (Negro)*					
Skilled manual	45	18	36	99	22
Semi- and unskilled	51	34	15	100	59
GIRLS					
Middle-class Schools					
Major white-collar	17	22	62	101	311
Minor white-collar	28	24	48	100	191
Skilled manual	40	20	40	100	60
Semi- and unskilled	57	29	14	100	21
Working-class Schools					
Major white-collar	25	11	64	100	36
Minor white-collar	43	28	29	100	127
Skilled manual	62	15	23	100	121
Semi- and unskilled	63	20	17	100	81
Working-class School (Negro)*					
Skilled manual	47	30	24	101	17
Semi- and unskilled	30	29	41	100	56

*There were too few cases of Negroes above the "skilled manual" occupational level to allow for meaningful analysis. They, therefore, are not included in the table.

As for Negro girls those in Class IV are slightly less likely than the white girls to have low LOA's (48 per cent vs 59 per cent). The difference between the Class V Negroes and whites will be commented on below.

Summing up, the findings of Table 4.5 can be said to be consistent with the hypothesis that the climate of aspiration of schools attended by eighth-grade children influences their LOA, the influence being more pervasive for girls (Class II, III and IV) than for boys (Class III only). The influence of the school on Classes I and V cannot be evaluated by our data since we find almost no upper-class children in the working-class schools and no lower-working-class children in the middle-class schools.

Occupation of Family Head and School Influence

Table 4.6 shows the distributions of LOA's of children grouped by school type and the occupational rank of the family head. The latter here serves, as did family-social-class position, as an index of familial influence on children's LOA.[1] Children, the heads of whose families have the same occupational rank, are treated as similar in regard to their families' educational values. Evidence that the children's LOA's differ by the type of school they attend therefore would be consistent with the hypothesis of school influence.

The classification of students by the occupational rank of their family head permits us to evaluate school influence for three groups of children. A confident evaluation is ruled out for children from families the heads of which are semi-skilled or unskilled workers. (An insufficient number of such families appear in our middle-class schools.)

The data are consistent with the hypothesis of school influence for white boys of two of the three occupational groups subject to reliable comparison. The exception is the group of boys whose family head is in a skilled manual occupation. This is the only group of boys with virtually the same LOA's in the middle-class schools as in the working-class schools. This result runs counter to the hypothesis of school influence from which it would be inferred that the sons of skilled manual workers would tend to have higher LOA's in middle-class schools.

The experience of the white girls also fails to support the hypothesis for one group of children, namely those whose family head is in a major white-collar occupation. From the school influence hypothesis lower LOA's would be predicted for these children in the working-class schools but their LOA's are almost identical in the two types of schools.

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[1] Occupational rank was used for this purpose to increase the number of groups of children that could be reliably compared for testing the influence of school type.

As with social class we find that children's LOA's reflect the occupational rank of the family head[1] much more than they do the type of school they attend with its characteristic climate of aspiration. In the case of the Negro boys a smaller proportion of those with a family head in a semi- or unskilled occupation have high LOA's than of those whose family head does skilled manual work. The LOA's of the former group of Negro boys is similar to that of the comparable white boys. The lowest ranking Negro boys, however, tend to have a greater proportion of medium LOA's and a smaller proportion of low LOA's than the comparable white boys.

Negro girls show the same reversal in the association between occupational rank of family head and LOA as was noted in the relation between social class and LOA. This makes for a sharp sex difference in the LOA's of the Negro children whose family head is in the lowest occupational category; a much larger proportion of the girls in this group have high LOA's whereas a greater proportion of the boys have low LOA's. A similar difference obtains between this group of Negro girls and the comparable white girls.

Fathers' Education and School Influence

Fathers' education has already figured in our test of the hypothesis of school influence, inasmuch as it was used in conjunction with occupational rank to determine family social-class position. It may be, however, that the education of fathers -- or mothers -- is a better indicator of home influences on children's educational aspirations than is occupational rank by itself or in combination with fathers' education. The more education parents have the more they may value it for their children and the more they may be disposed to attempt to transmit their aspirations to their children. They may also be more successful in this attempt than less educated parents by virtue of what they can do to facilitate the educational process for their children.

Table 4.7 presents the LOA's of children grouped by their fathers' education and by whether they are in schools in which the modal LOA is high or low i.e. middle-class or working-class schools. Assuming fathers' education to be an index of the level of educational aspiration assimilated by children at home we tested the postulated influence of the climate of aspiration of schools by comparing the LOA's of children who were similar with respect to their fathers' education but who differed in the type of school they attended. Looking first at the data for the boys it can be seen that the comparisons support the hypothesis for all but those whose fathers have less than a high school education. These boys tend to have low LOA's whether they are in middle-class or working-class schools, a finding counter to the hypothesis.

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[1] This parallel is largely determined by the fact that occupational rank is the more heavily weighted of the two factors -- education is the other -- by which social-class position is determined.

TABLE 4.7 -- Level of aspiration (LOA) of boys and girls classified by social-class composition of schools and by education of father

Social Class of Schools and Father's Education	Level of Aspiration			Total	
	Low	Medium	High	%	N
BOYS					
Middle-class Schools					
College graduate or more	14	22	64	100	297
Some college	19	22	59	100	69
Grade 12	25	27	48	100	107
Grade 11 or less	53	18	29	100	38
Working-class Schools					
College graduate or more	35	6	59	100	62
Some college	32	36	32	100	31
Grade 12	39	21	40	100	158
Grade 11 or less	57	19	24	100	92
Working-class School (Negro)*					
Grade 12	50	28	22	100	18
Grade 11 or less	56	22	22	100	45
GIRLS					
Middle-class Schools					
College graduate or more	16	22	63	101	306
Some college	24	14	63	101	81
Grade 12	39	23	39	101	104
Grade 11 or less	53	29	19	101	38
Working-class Schools					
College graduate or more	20	18	62	100	45
Some college	36	26	39	101	31
Grade 12	55	21	24	100	129
Grade 11 or less	63	21	16	100	105
Working-class School (Negro)*					
Grade 12	36	18	46	100	22
Grade 11 or less	36	31	33	100	48

*The few cases of Negro fathers with more than a high school education are not included in this and subsequent tables.

The data for the girls support the assumption of school influence in three out of four comparisons. Girls whose fathers have had four or more years of college are the exception since the LOA's of these girls are almost identical in both types of schools.

As in preceding tables, the data of Table 4.7 reveal a far lesser relation between children's aspirations and school type than between the index of family influence and children's LOA. The aspirations of Negro boys are unrelated to their fathers' education. The LOA's of both groups of Negro boys are similar to those of white boys whose fathers comprise the lowest educational group.

The association for Negro girls between their LOA's and the educational level of their fathers is consistent with that found for white girls and white boys. A larger proportion of those whose fathers are high school graduates than of those whose fathers have less education are in the high LOA category. At both levels of fathers' education, however, Negro girls are considerably more likely than comparable white girls to have high LOA's.

Mothers' Education and School Influence

The educational levels of fathers and mothers are highly correlated. It therefore, was to be expected that the use of mothers' education (Table 4.8) as an index of home influence on children's aspirations would yield the same results as fathers' education in testing the influence of school type on LOA. The results for the boys were indeed extremely similar. The one outstanding divergence in the results for the girls was that the group which did not differ in LOA by type of school -- and thus support the hypothesis of school influence -- were those whose mothers had some college education.

Both within the middle-class and working-class schools we find, of course, that mothers' educational level is closely associated with their children's LOA. The pattern of association is very similar for white boys and girls. The findings for Negro boys and Negro girls closely parallel those obtained with fathers' education. The LOA's of Negro boys are the same for those whose mothers are high school graduates as for those whose mothers have had less than a high school education. These two groups of Negro girls, however, differ in the expected direction and both rank higher in their LOA's than the comparable white girls.

The reader is reminded that, in the earlier tables in which social class was a variable, Negro girls varied from the anticipated pattern in that a greater proportion of those in Class V had high LOA's than of those in Class IV. A parallel reversal was found in the relation of the occupational rank of the family head and the LOA of Negro girls. This did not occur, however, in the association between LOA and fathers' and mothers' education. We cannot explain the somewhat anomalous finding in regard to the occupational rank of the family but it should

TABLE 4.8 -- Level of aspiration (LOA) of boys and girls classified by social-class composition of schools and by education of mother

Social Class of Schools and Mother's Education	Level of Aspiration			Total	
	Low	Medium	High	%	N
BOYS					
Middle-class Schools					
College graduate or more	10	24	65	100	238
Some college	16	22	62	100	76
Grade 12	25	22	53	100	161
Grade 11 or less	56	19	25	100	36
Working-class Schools					
College graduate or more	39	15	46	100	72
Some college	33	19	48	100	42
Grade 12	44	20	36	100	202
Grade 11 or less	62	15	23	100	71
Working-class School (Negro)*					
Grade 12	48	26	26	100	27
Grade 11 or less	47	25	28	100	57
GIRLS					
Middle-class Schools					
College graduate or more	12	24	64	100	252
Some college	23	19	58	100	116
Grade 12	36	21	43	100	165
Grade 11 or less	59	24	17	100	29
Working-class Schools					
College graduate or more	24	24	52	100	50
Some college	30	12	58	100	33
Grade 12	51	24	25	100	179
Grade 11 or less	76	11	14	101	95
Working-class School (Negro)*					
Grade 12	40	23	37	100	35
Grade 11 or less	38	33	28	99	60

*The few cases of Negro mothers with more than a high school education are not included in the table.

be noted that it was the reversal in the relation of this variable to LOA that led to the unexpected negative association noted between social class and LOA. The latter reflected the greater weight given occupational rank than education in the determination of social class position.

Parental Educational Aspirations for Children

Fathers' Educational Aspirations for Children and School Influence

We come now to what we consider the strongest test of the hypothesis that the climate of aspiration prevailing in their schools influences children's LOA. It is, of course, the sense of the hypothesis that children who enter school with an aspiration derived from home influence which is at variance with the modal level of aspiration in their school will tend to change their LOA in the direction of the mode of the school. On the basis of this hypothesis children coming from homes similar in their influence on children's educational values are expected to have different LOA's in middle-class and working-class schools. Our analysis to this point has yielded some confirmation of this expectation. It has done so using, in turn, family social class, occupational rank of family head, fathers' and mothers' education for purposes of setting up categories of children who could be presumed to be alike in the influence of their homes on their educational aspirations. To this point our procedure was similar to that followed in Wilson's test of the influence of schools' climate of aspiration. Our research represents an advance on Wilson's however in that we employed a less inferential index of the educational values to which our subjects were exposed in their homes. This index is reports by the children of their fathers' and mothers' educational aspirations for them. It is a reasonable assumption that grouping children on the basis of their parents' aspirations for them identifies children alike with respect to home influence on their aspirations more accurately than by grouping them in terms of family social class or other such broad categories.

The data of Table 4.9 contrast quite dramatically with those of tables previously reviewed. When children are classified by their fathers' educational aspirations for them, differences in LOA as a function of school type virtually disappear. The small difference favoring boys and girls in the middle-class schools, if a true difference, has little practical significance. Moreover, LOA differences between the children within schools are seen to be largely accounted for by differences in fathers' aspirations.

The data of Table 4.9 indicate that almost two-thirds of all white boys and girls who report their fathers want them to have four or more years of college report this to be their own aspiration (high LOA). Conversely, approximately three-fourths of those saying their fathers' aspiration for them is less than college graduation have low LOA's. Judging by Table 4.9 it could be confidently predicted that children would not have high LOA's if their fathers' aspirations for them were relatively

TABLE 4.9 -- Percentages of boys and girls having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by school type and fathers' aspirations for their children

School Type and Father's Aspiration	Child's Level of Aspiration			Total	
	Low	Medium	High	%	N
BOYS					
Middle-class Schools					
Four or more years college	9	23	68	100	446
Less than four years college	78	18	4	100	91
Working-class Schools					
Four or more years college	15	21	64	100	198
Less than four years college	76	20	4	100	180
Working-class School (Negro)					
Four or more years college	30	22	48	100	46
Less than four years college	67	29	4	100	49
GIRLS					
Middle-class Schools					
Four or more years college	10	23	67	100	421
Less than four years college	70	20	10	100	142
Working-class Schools					
Four or more years college	14	24	62	100	148
Less than four years college	81	15	4	100	206
Working-class School (Negro)					
Four or more years college	10	32	58	100	53
Less than four years college	70	26	4	100	47

TABLE 4.10 - Percentages of boys and girls having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by school type and mothers' aspirations for their children

School Type and Mother's Aspiration	Child's Level of Aspiration Low	Medium	High	Total %	N
BOYS					
Middle-class Schools					
Four or more years college	9	25	67	101	466
Less than four years college	73	19	7	99	109
Working-class Schools					
Four or more years college	14	24	63	101	230
Less than four years college	80	16	4	100	205
Working-class School (Negro)					
Four or more years college	26	18	56	100	55
Less than four years college	71	26	3	100	68
GIRLS					
Middle-class Schools					
Four or more years college	8	23	69	100	436
Less than four years college	69	21	11	101	159
Working-class Schools					
Four or more years college	14	20	66	100	152
Less than four years college	78	19	2	99	240
Working-class School (Negro)					
Four or more years college	12	31	57	100	68
Less than four years college	70	27	3	100	59

low. The converse, however, is not true since we find that the LOA's of a fairly large proportion of boys and girls are not in accord with the high aspirations entertained for them by their fathers. This is most evident in the case of Negro boys who differ in this regard from white boys in the working-class schools, 48 per cent of the former compared with 64 per cent of the latter failing to share their fathers' high aspirations.

Mothers' Educational Aspirations for Children and School Influences

Analysis of fathers' and mothers' aspirations for their children in intact families revealed almost no instances of divergence between parents. We consequently find in Table 4.10 that mothers' aspirations have the same relation as fathers' aspirations to the LOA's of their sons and daughters. The similarity in the pattern of association obtains for Negro and white children.

It will be noted in Tables 4.9 and 4.10 that a greater proportion of the parents of white boys and girls in middle-class than of those in working-class schools are said to want their children to have four or more years of college. The pertinent percentages in the case of mothers are: for sons 81 and 53, and for daughters 73 and 39. The comparable percentages in the case of fathers are: for sons 83 and 52, and for daughters 75 and 42. These differences by type of school reflect, in part, the variation in the class composition of schools and, in turn, the greater value placed on college education by middle-class parents.[1] This, however, is not the sole explanation. We find, as shown in Table 4.11, in which parents are classified by their own educational level that those of children in middle-class schools tend in all but two instances to have higher aspirations for their sons and daughters than parents of children in working-class schools.[2] This finding may be a consequence of a greater disposition of children in middle-class schools than of those in working-class schools to represent their parents (and themselves) as having higher educational aspirations.[3] If it be assumed, however, that children's reports are valid the finding can be interpreted as an indication of the greater concern of parents with higher aspirations for their children that they be enrolled in what they consider to be the better schools, i.e. those with predominantly middle-class students. This greater concern presumably would lead them to try to establish their residence in a school district that would achieve this end.

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[1] See Table 4.11.

[2] The exceptions are: fathers with less than a high school education, in their aspirations for their sons; mothers who are college graduates, in their aspirations for their daughters.

[3] This possibility is examined in Chapter 9 along with evaluations of other data of our study.

TABLE 4.11 -- Percentages of fathers and of mothers wanting their children to have four or more years of college, with parents classified by their own educational level and their children's school type

School Type and Parent's Education	Mothers		Fathers	
	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters
Middle-class Schools				
College graduate*	88 (291)[a]	82 (297)	91 (288)	86 (292)
Some college	82 (68)	76 (80)	85 (66)	72 (76)
Grade 12	77 (105)	58 (99)	78 (103)	58 (96)
Grade 11 or less	50 (37)	49 (35)	36 (28)	45 (38)
Working-class Schools				
College graduate*	73 (62)	79 (44)	76 (58)	77 (43)
Some college	68 (31)	43 (28)	68 (28)	45 (29)
Grade 12	57 (155)	42 (123)	55 (149)	45 (118)
Grade 11 or less	32 (92)	19 (104)	36 (88)	23 (101)

*This category includes parents with four or more years of college.

[a] Parentheses enclose the number of cases in the base of the percentage immediately above.

Table 4.11 suggests an additional comment on percentages referred to earlier which indicated that mothers and fathers tend to have higher aspirations for sons than for daughters, the difference being greater in working-class than in middle-class schools. Table 4.11 shows this sex difference to be negligible in both types of schools for parents who are college graduates. Parents at this educational level apparently value a college education equally for male and female children[1], regardless of the type of school they are attending.

Comparison of Findings of Wilson's Study and Present Study

Wilson's study compared boys of "similar social origins" attending different types of schools simply in terms of whether they planned to go to college.[2] His data were strongly supportive of the hypothesis of school influence. The present study, on the other hand, indicated school influence to be negligible. In our analysis, however, boys (and girls) were classified as similar on the basis of their parents' aspirations for them and school influence was measured in terms of whether they wanted a college education _and_ in terms of how strongly they desired it.

To make the findings of the two studies more comparable, we first classified the boys of our investigation (Wilson dealt only with boys) by their educational goal alone, by their school type and by their fathers' educational level. These data are given in Column 2 of Table 4.12 and they are strikingly similar[3] to Wilson's data as shown in Column 1. Both sets of data are firmly consistent with the hypothesis of school influence. At all levels of fathers' education, boys in middle-class schools are more likely than those in working-class schools to aspire to college.

This difference by type of school is narrowed considerably for two groups of boys in our study by taking account of their fathers' aspirations for them. Thus, when undifferentiated by their fathers' aspirations (Column 2) the boys whose fathers are college graduates are 21 per cent more likely in middle-class than in working-class schools to say they want to go to college. The difference is only 9 per cent, however, for comparable boys whose fathers have high aspirations for them. (Column 4) For boys whose fathers have had some college there is a difference of 25 per cent between those in the two types of schools in the

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[1] They may value it, of course, for different reasons.

[2] The possible responses to the question used by Wilson to elicit this information suggest that planning to go to college meant going four years.

[3] The similarity is impressive because our subjects were 8th grade boys and Wilson's were students from the grades 10, 11 and 12. We asked how far they _wanted to go_ in school and Wilson's question was how far they _planned to go_.

TABLE 4.12 -- Percentages of boys wanting four or more years of college in Wilson's study and in present study, in groups defined by school type and fathers' education

School Type and Father's Education	Wilson Study[a]	Present Study		
		All Cases[b]	Father's Aspiration[c] Low	High
Middle-class Schools				
College graduate or more	88	85	20	91
	(207)[d]	(298)	(25)	(264)
Some college	79	77	20	88
	(61)	(69)	(10)	(56)
Grade 12	74	66	8	85
	(81)	(108)	(24)	(80)
Grade 11 or less	50	42	0	80
	(54)	(38)	(18)	(20)
Working-class Schools				
College graduate or more	73	64	12	82
	(139)	(74)	(17)	(51)
Some college	64	52	8	77
	(89)	(38)	(13)	(22)
Grade 12	44	49	4	67
	(253)	(176)	(75)	(90)
Grade 11 or less	34	32	13	70
	(390)	(137)	(78)	(50)

[a] Adapted from Wilson, _op. cit._, Table 6. In terms of fathers' education Wilson's school group A is very similar in composition to what we have designated "middle-class schools." His school groups B and C have been combined to parallel what we designate "working-class schools." The B and C groups combined have a smaller proportion of fathers who are high school graduates, and a larger proportion with less than high school education than are found in our working-class schools.

[b] The Negro boys are included here since they were also contained in Wilson's study group. The totals in this column sometimes exceed the sum of the two columns to the right because a few of the boys did not report their fathers' aspiration.

[c] Fathers characterized as having low aspirations for their sons are those who want them to have less than four years of college. Those described as having high aspirations want them to _graduate_ from college.

[d] Parentheses enclose the number of cases in the base of the percentage immediately above.

proportions who want a college education (Column 2). When these boys are distinguished by their fathers' aspirations for them (Column 4) the difference drops to 11 per cent. Taking account of fathers' aspirations fails to reduce the influence of school type for boys whose fathers are either high school graduates or have had less than a high school education.

Turning to Column 3 it can be seen that for boys whose fathers' have low aspirations for them, a small margin of school influence is indicated for those whose fathers have had some college or are college graduates. Little is indicated for those whose fathers are high school graduates. The sons of fathers with less than a high school education run counter to the hypothesis, since none of them desire four or more years of college in middle-class schools but 13 per cent do in working-class schools.

It should be noted that both within middle-class and working-class schools there is a high correlation between fathers' educational level and the educational goal of their sons (Columns 1 and 2). The correlation is, however, substantially lower when account is taken of fathers' aspirations for their sons (Columns 3 and 4). This points up the observation made previously that parental aspirations are a better index of the familial influences determining their children's educational goal than are grosser and more inferential indices such as social class or parents' own educational level.

The consequence of testing school influence with boys classified by their fathers' aspirations can be clearly seen in a comparison of the percentages of boys having high goals in middle-class and working-class schools in each of the four columns of Table 4.12. In Wilson's study the percentages are 79 and 46; in our study (all cases) they are 77 and 46; for boys of our study having fathers with low aspirations they are 12 and 9; and for boys with high-aspiration fathers they are 89 and 72. If, it be assumed that fathers' aspirations for their sons are a valid measure of the aspirations derived by boys from home influences, the data of Table 4.12 would indicate that the type of school they attend can modify boys' educational goals in some degree. The extent of school influence is of lesser magnitude, however, than would be inferred from the findings of research which, like Wilson's, used a less direct index than ours of home influence.

A second direct comparison between Wilson's study and the present one is shown in Table 4.13. The organization of this table parallels that of Table 4.12 but the former substitutes mothers' educational level and aspirations for those of father. The findings of the two tables are very similar and point to the same conclusion. School type influences boys' goals (Column 2, Table 4.13) but much less so when account is taken of their mothers' aspirations (Columns 3 and 4). When boys are differentiated by their mothers' aspirations, the apparent influence of school type on their goals is sharply reduced. The percentage of boys desiring four or more years college, if their mothers have this aspiration for them is 91 in middle-class schools and 79 in working-class schools. The comparable percentages for boys whose mothers have lower aspirations are 15 and 8.

TABLE 4.13 -- Percentages of boys wanting four or more years of college in Wilson's study and in present study in groups defined by school type and mothers' education

School Type and Mother's Education[a]	Wilson Study	Present Study		
		All Cases[b]	Mother's Aspiration	
			Low	High
Middle-class Schools				
College graduate or more	87	88	29	93
	(64)	(240)	(21)	(217)
Some college	87	82	17	87
	(67)	(76)	(6)	(70)
Grade 12	74	68	10	88
	(140)	(162)	(41)	(121)
Grade 11 or less	47	44	10	93
	(36)	(36)	(20)	(15)
Working-class Schools				
College graduate or more	75	56	13	83
	(112)	(84)	(31)	(52)
Some college	54	54	0	74
	(87)	(48)	(12)	(35)
Grade 12	45	48	7	82
	(361)	(229)	(105)	(124)
Grade 11 or less	34	34	10	71
	(319)	(128)	(77)	(51)

[a] Adapted from Wilson, op. cit., Table 7. The proportion of mothers in Wilson's school group A who are college graduates is only 21 per cent, as compared with the 47 per cent we find in our middle-class schools. The 21 per cent exceed by only 8 per cent the percentage of college graduates in Wilson's school groups B and C combined. The education of mothers in Wilson's B and C groups and in our working-class schools is roughly similar.

[b] Negro boys are included. The totals in this column sometimes exceed the sum of the two columns to the right because a few of the boys did not report their mothers' aspirations.

A few aspects of Table 4.13 call for comment. Interesting is the fact that the relation between school type and boys' educational goal is considerably greater in our study than in Wilson's for sons of mothers who are college graduates. In this category of boys in our study, 88 per cent of those in middle-class schools, compared with 56 per cent in working-class schools, want to graduate from college. The corresponding percentages for Wilson's group are 87 and 75. The large school difference in our group is sharply reduced, however, when account is taken of mothers' aspirations for their sons (Columns 3 and 4).

It will also be noted that the influence of school type is not apparent for sons whose mothers are less than high school graduates and who have low aspirations for them.[1] (Column 3). This observation also holds for sons of mothers who are high school graduates. In the case of these boys, moreover, there is little indication of school influence even for those whose mothers have high aspirations for them.[2]

Parental Aspirations and Daughters' Educational Goals

Wilson's study was confined to boys. Hence the data presented here for girls, comparable to those presented for boys (Tables 4.12 and 4.13) in the preceding section, are for our study group only. It will be recalled that the influence of school type on the LOA of girls, as on that of boys, was found to be negligible when parental aspirations were held constant. The question now under consideration is whether school influence is manifest for girls, as it was for boys, with respect to their educational goal alone i.e., disregarding the intensity of their desire for college which is a component of LOA.

Table 4.14 shows the percentages of girls who want four or more years of college, classified by their school type, their fathers' education, and their fathers' aspirations for them. Looking first at the column for "all cases" it can be seen that school influence is not evident for girls whose fathers are college graduates. It is apparent for girls whose fathers have had some college education and, to a lesser extent, for those whose fathers had a high school education or less.

Comparison of these data with the comparable data for boys ("all cases," Table 4.12) indicates that school influence is operative for boys but not for girls, among children whose fathers are college graduates. (For this category of students, working-class schools tend to depress the educational goal of boys but not of girls.) The influence of school type is of the same order for boys and girls whose fathers have had some college, greater for boys whose fathers are high school

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[1] Taken in conjunction with the anomalous finding for the comparable group of fathers, this suggests that school type is not associated with the educational goal of sons of parents with the least education.

[2] The finding for the comparable group of fathers is the same for those with low aspirations for their sons but not for those with high aspirations.

TABLE 4.14 -- Percentages of girls wanting four or more years of college in groups defined by school type, fathers' education and fathers' educational aspirations for daughters

School Type and Father's Education	All Cases	Father's Aspiration for Daughter: Less than Four Years College	Father's Aspiration for Daughter: Four or More Years College
Middle-class Schools			
Four or more years college	79	15	89
	(307)	(40)	(253)
Some college	73	14	95
	(81)	(21)	(55)
Grade 12	51	12	77
	(104)	(40)	(56)
Grade 11 or less	40	14	71
	(38)	(21)	(17)
Working-class Schools			
Four or more years college	76	20	89
	(49)	(10)	(36)
Some college	51	22	83
	(37)	(18)	(18)
Grade 12	42	7	82
	(153)	(71)	(67)
Grade 11 or less	31	7	82
	(153)	(103)	(45)

TABLE 4.15 -- Percentages of girls with goal of four or more years of college in groups defined by school type, mothers' education, and mothers' educational aspirations for daughters

School Type and Mother's Education	All Cases	Mother's Aspiration for Daughter: Less than Four Years College	Mother's Aspiration for Daughter: Four or More Years College
Middle-class Schools			
Four or more years college	84 (252)	22 (27)	92 (222)
Some college	66 (116)	13 (30)	87 (82)
Grade 12	55 (165)	15 (66)	85 (94)
Grade 11 or less	38 (29)	0 (16)	85 (13)
Working-class Schools			
Four or more years college	64 (59)	14 (21)	95 (37)
Some college	67 (36)	22 (14)	96 (22)
Grade 12	41 (215)	11 (120)	81 (91)
Grade 11 or less	28 (156)	7 (105)	74 (49)

graduates and equivalent for the sexes if their fathers have had less than a high school education.

The over-all influence of school type on girls' educational goal, when the girls are undifferentiated by their fathers' aspirations (Table 4.14, "all cases"), is to be seen in the comparison of the proportions of girls in middle-class and working-class schools who want four or more years of college. The proportions in question are 70 and 43. But when the girls are regrouped in terms of their fathers' aspirations for them (Columns 2 and 3) the school difference becomes inconsequential. If their fathers want them to graduate from college 87 per cent of the girls have this goal in middle-class schools as compared with 83 per cent in working-class schools. The corresponding percentages for those whose fathers have lower aspirations for them are 14 and 9. Even these slight differences are not found consistently for fathers at each educational level.

We therefore are led to conclude that for girls, unlike for boys, the type of school they attend has no influence on their educational goal when their fathers' aspirations for them are controlled. The finding of non-school influence for girls is, therefore, the same when the criterion is educational goal alone as when it is their LOA (goal and intensity of desire for college).

This conclusion is also indicated by the data of Table 4.15 in which girls' goals are shown in relation to their mothers' education and aspirations for them. Since Tables 4.14 and 4.15 are very similar little need be said about the latter. The influence of school type can be summarized as in the preceding three tables, by reporting the proportions of girls in middle-class and working-class schools whose goal was four or more years of college. The percentages for "all cases" (Column 1) are 70 and 42. When the girls are classified by their mothers' aspirations for them the pertinent percentages are 14 and 10 for those whose mothers have low aspirations (Column 2) and 89 and 83 for those whose mothers have high aspirations (Column 3). In short, when classified by either their fathers' or mothers' aspirations for them school influence tends to be minimal on girls' goals as well as on their LOA.

Discussion of Results

The analysis of our data for comparison with Wilson's study and the prior analysis of school influence on children's LOA have yielded interesting results. First, we found that although our study provides evidence for the hypothesis of school influence on boys when the criterion is their response to a single question asking how far they want to go in school, it fails to do so when the response to this question is used in conjunction with their scores on a six-item scale measuring the intensity of their desire to go to college. Secondly, we found that the use of neither the former nor the latter criterion produced evidence of influence of school type on girls. Thirdly, we found that parental educational aspirations for children as an index of the similarity of children in home-given values with respect to education attenuated the observed influence of school type on boys when measured by the single question and eliminated it when measured by the more complex criterion. In the case of the girls, controlling parental aspirations more or less completely eliminated the apparent influence of school type in both instances.

Two somewhat interrelated explanations suggest themselves for the finding that school type has an impact on boys' reports of whether they want to go to college but not on their wish to go taken in conjunction with how much they want to go. In middle-class schools, the expectation of teachers, counsellors and of boys themselves is that most of the student body will be going to college. There is no challenge in such an atmosphere to the conception of higher education as a desirable goal. The forces operating in this direction are much weaker in working-class schools and this may explain our finding that, regardless of their home backgrounds, a larger proportion of boys in middle-class schools think of themselves or describe themselves, as wanting a college education. We say "think of themselves or describe themselves" because our finding could partly or entirely be a consequence of the indicated difference in the general educational climate of the two types of schools influencing boys in middle-class schools to represent themselves as wanting to go to college, when registering their attitudes or goals on a questionnaire. That the difference in the total atmosphere of middle-class and working-class schools could influence a small proportion of boys in middle-class schools in the manner suggested above is not a difficult conclusion to accept. The fact, but not of course the interpretation thereof, emerges in both Wilson's and the present study.

Less credible is the assumption -- till now tested only in our research and unsupported by its findings -- that the type of school they attend can affect children in some depth with regard to their educational goals. This would presume -- in terms of the measures of our study -- that boys whose parents (more often of working-class status) have non-college aspirations for them, which the children supposedly assimilate, can be stimulated to develop a high level of aspiration (LOA)[1] by exposure to the climate of aspiration of a middle-class school. The picture this evokes of a bright, working-class child, encouraged by teachers and his middle-class peers to pursue a goal relatively foreign to his background and in the face of parental opposition or disinterest is recognizable but certainly not common.[2] More familiar, of course, is an upward-mobility drive on the part of a working-class child, whose ambition originates with or is reinforced by the aspirations held for him by one or both of his parents. The middle-class school for such a child may sustain his high aspirations but not, as the hypothesis of school influence argues, determine it.

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[1] Which means to want four or more years of college and to have a strong desire to go to college.

[2] There were few boys or girls in our study group with a high LOA if their parents' aspirations for them were low. See Tables 4.9 and 4.10.

The hypothesis of school influence (in depth) would also presume that the LOA's acquired by children in families having high aspirations for them can be substantially lowered by the climate of aspiration of a working-class school. This, too, probably occurs but again one is led to think of special cases; a child in conflict with parents, rejecting their values and supported by peer-values in doing so. Or a child with little academic aptitude who finds relief in bringing his LOA down to the modal level of his fellow students. In such instances and others akin to them, one thinks immediately of the likelihood of parents being concerned, and perhaps even considering moving in an attempt to improve the situation.

Apart from deviant cases of the kind delineated above the assumption that the level of aspiration of the bulk of students in a working-class school can depress the LOA of the minority would appear to be open to question for a number of reasons. (1) In maintaining a high LOA, the minority in this situation are following a course for which they are rewarded by teachers and by parents. (2) The goal they have set themselves is also rewarding in its future promise. (3) The minority with high LOA's are not isolated, single individuals. There are others, who share their academic minority status and probably additional salient characteristics as well, which provide the basis for satisfying peer relations. The members of this group are doubtless perceived by teachers, themselves and other boys and girls as distinguished from the rest of the student body and may well enjoy a high degree of solidarity which leads to the reinforcement of their aspirations.

The considerations advanced above argue against the likelihood that the level of aspiration of a school, as such, can independently influence the academic aspirations of its students. These considerations are applicable to girls as well as to boys and therefore can serve to explain our finding that the former, like the latter, are uninfluenced in depth (i.e. in their LOA) by the type of school they attend when account is taken of their parents' aspirations for them. Still to be explained, however, is the sex difference found in school influence as measured only by children's answers to the single question of whether they want to graduate from college. With parental aspirations controlled some such influence was observed for boys but not for girls. Whereas a greater proportion of boys in middle-class than in working-class schools desired four or more years of college the school divergence for girls was negligible.

Two explanations can be advanced for the observed difference in school influence on the educational goals of boys and girls. Both explanations follow from the assumption that a college education is more salient for boys than for girls. If this assumption is valid it could be argued that this saliency makes the boys more susceptible to the higher climate of aspiration of the middle-class school.[1] A second possibility is that the greater saliency of college for the boys merely influences them to represent themselves as having this goal.[1]

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[1] At least with respect to the adoption of college graduation as a goal.

By way of a summary comment on the findings reported in this chapter for the Negro children[2] it can be said that in the main they paralleled those obtained for white children. The aspiration level of the Negro boys was found to be somewhat similar to that of white boys of comparable social-class position i.e. Class IV and Class V. Class V Negro boys, however, were more likely than Class V white boys to have a medium LOA and less likely to have a low LOA. There was no racial difference between Class IV girls but our data showed Class V Negro girls to have higher aspirations than Class IV girls, whether Negro or white.[3] Most important, however, in terms of the major objective of our study of aspirations is the finding that the educational aspirations of Negro children, like those of white children, are closely allied to the aspirations of their fathers and mothers. Despite the low modal level of aspiration of the Negro school of our study, our data indicate there is a high probability that Negro boys and girls will have a high LOA if their parents want them to have four or more years of college. This association of parent-child aspirations is of somewhat lesser magnitude for Negro boys than for white boys. It is however roughly the same for Negro and white girls.

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[1] See Chapter 9 for an elaboration of this argument.

[2] It will be recalled that they were attending a virtually all-Negro school.

[3] If this is a true difference we have no explanation for it.

CHAPTER 5

OTHER FACTORS RELATED TO EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

It has been shown that the apparent influence of school type on children's LOA is eliminated when comparisons are made of children in different schools who are alike in their parents' aspirations for them. The analysis of LOA in this chapter, therefore, omits the distinction between school types and turns to the examination of a number of other possible influences on, or correlates of, LOA.

This chapter deals with the relationships between LOA and (a) academic aptitude (I.Q. scores), (b) academic achievement (grades), (c) child's liking for school, and (d) child's reported certainty of going to college. (Tables 5.1-5.6). Because of the strong association found between parents' aspirations for their children and the children's LOA, the relationships indicated above were examined with fathers' aspirations held constant.[1] This analysis also allowed us to examine the correlation between the variables and fathers' aspirations.

Academic Aptitude and Level of Aspiration

The data of Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show a substantial positive association for both white boys and girls between the quartile rank of their intelligence test score and their LOA. This association is evident among those whose fathers do not want them to be college graduates as well as among those whose do. In the former group, however, it will be noted that regardless of their quartile rank few boys or girls have a high LOA. Quartile rank in this group, therefore, distinguishes between children having a medium LOA and those having a low LOA. In the case of boys and girls whose fathers have high aspirations for them their I.Q. scores are linked to the probability of their having a low LOA rather than a high LOA.

Since almost all Negro boys and girls are in Q_1, the lowest quartile, nothing can be said in their case about the association of their test scores and LOA. It is interesting to note, however, that those whose fathers have high aspirations for them are almost as likely as white

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[1] Given the high correlation between fathers' and mothers' aspirations it was sufficient for our purposes to control for the fathers' aspirations only. In effect, we are examining the relationship of these other factors to LOA that exists independently of parental influences.

TABLE 5.1 -- Percentages of boys having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by fathers' race and aspirations for their sons and by the quartile rank of children's intelligence test scores

Father's Aspiration and Child's Quartile	Child's Level of Aspiration			Total	
	Low	Medium	High	%	N
White Fathers					
Four or More Years College					
Q_4 (Highest)	3	22	75	100	141
Q_3	9	20	71	100	225
Q_2	16	19	65	100	118
Q_1 (Lowest)	18	28	54	100	136
Less Than Four Years College					
Q_4	67	28	6	101	18
Q_3	67	27	6	100	48
Q_2	75	23	2	100	56
Q_1	83	12	5	100	128
Negro Fathers					
Four or More Years College					
Q_4	-	-	-	-	0
Q_3	-	-	100	100	1
Q_2	33	17	50	100	6
Q_1	30	22	48	100	27
Less Than Four Years College					
Q_4	-	-	-	-	0
Q_3	-	-	-	-	0
Q_2	67	33	0	100	3
Q_1	68	29	3	101	38

Percentages for boys are not comparable with those for girls in parallel cells of Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

TABLE 5.2 -- Percentages of girls having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by fathers' race and aspirations for their daughters and by the quartile rank of children's intelligence test scores

Father's Aspiration and Child's Quartile	Child's Level of Aspiration Low	Medium	High	Total %	N
White Fathers					
Four or More Years College					
Q_4 (Highest)	5	21	74	100	229
Q_3	13	26	61	100	162
Q_2	12	20	68	100	90
Q_1 (Lowest)	20	29	51	100	65
Less Than Four Years College					
Q_4	67	21	12	100	58
Q_3	72	20	8	100	64
Q_2	75	21	4	100	96
Q_1	84	11	5	100	116
Negro Fathers					
Four or More Years College					
Q_4	-	-	-	-	0
Q_3	0	25	75	100	4
Q_2	25	25	50	100	4
Q_1	12	32	56	100	34
Less Than Four Years College					
Q_4	-	-	-	-	0
Q_3	-	-	-	-	0
Q_2	0	100	0	100	3
Q_1	81	16	3	100	31

boys and girls to have high LOA's. It hardly need be said that these children (of both racial groups) who are in the lowest or second lowest quartile--more than half of whom have high LOA's--are entertaining most unrealistic aspirations.[1] This is also true of their fathers.

The association between I.Q. scores and LOA was, of course, to be anticipated. Somewhat surprising is the fact that it is not of greater magnitude. This may be due to the youth of the subjects and to their not yet having been seriously confronted with the demanding standards and requirements which must be met for college attendance. If so, it could be expected that this experience would tend to lower the LOA of children in the bottom two quartiles. An alternative or additional explanation may be that the magnitude of the influence of parental aspirations (and the influences they index) on LOA, accounts for so much of the variance in LOA that among children of this age academic aptitude is a secondary or subordinate factor.

Fathers' aspirations, like those of their children, are to some extent correlated with the children's I.Q.'s. We find that 89 percent of the white fathers whose sons are in the highest quartile want them to have four or more years of college compared with 82, 67 and 52 percent of the fathers of sons in Q_3, Q_2 and Q_1 respectively. The equivalent percentages for the girls are 80, 72, 48, and 36.[2]

Finally, it can be seen in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 that fathers' and children's aspirations are associated in each of the I.Q. quartiles. Regardless of their quartile ranking children are more likely to have a high LOA, and less likely to have a low LOA, if their father wants them to have a college education. This obtains for boys and girls, Negro and white.

Academic Achievement and Level of Aspiration

Grades[3] and scores on I.Q. or academic aptitude tests are, as is well known, highly correlated. The correlation is very evident in the similarity of the patterns of the data in Tables 5.1, 5.2., 5.3. and 5.4. Grad

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[1] This is said on the assumption, which may not be valid for all of them, that their quartile ranking accurately reflects their academic aptitude.

[2] It should be noted that cross-sex comparisons are not warranted here because the quartile categories on I.Q. are not comparable for boys and girls.

[3] The average grades discussed here are those for English, mathematics and social studies in the final quarterly grading period of the year.

TABLE 5.3 -- Percentages of boys having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by fathers' race and aspirations for their sons and by children's average grade

Father's Aspiration and Child's Average Grade	Child's Level of Aspiration Low	Medium	High	Total %	N
White Fathers					
Four or More Years College					
A	4	17	79	100	143
B	7	23	70	100	305
C	21	26	53	100	175
D *	37	21	42	100	19
Less Than Four Years College					
A	46	36	18	100	22
B	71	24	6	101	92
C	85	14	1	100	111
D	86	9	5	100	43
Negro Fathers					
Four or More Years College					
A	-	-	-	-	0
B	12	38	50	100	8
C	35	22	44	101	23
D	25	8	67	100	12
Less Than Four Years College					
A	-	-	-	-	0
B	50	38	12	100	8
C	47	47	5	99	19
D	91	9	0	100	22

*Includes students having an F average.

TABLE 5.4 -- Percentages of girls having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by fathers' race and aspirations for their daughters and by children's average grade

Father's Aspiration and Child's Average Grade	Child's Level of Aspiration Low	Medium	High	Total %	N
White Fathers					
Four or More Years College					
A	6	21	73	100	253
B	14	24	63	101	230
C	16	28	56	100	79
D *	33	50	17	100	6
Less Than Four Years College					
A	59	22	19	100	59
B	74	21	5	100	139
C	84	12	4	100	130
D	94	6	0	100	18
Negro Fathers					
Four or More Years College					
A	0	0	100	100	2
B	0	29	72	101	14
C	13	39	48	100	23
D	20	30	50	100	10
Less Than Four Years College					
A	-	-	-	-	0
B	0	100	0	100	2
C	69	31	0	100	29
D	80	7	13	100	15

*Includes students having an F average.

like I.Q., are found to be associated with the LOA of white boys and girls, whose fathers don't want them to have a college education as well as with the LOA of those whose fathers do. As in the case of I.Q., however, it is surprising that the association is not of greater magnitude. For example, among white girls whose fathers want them to be college graduates, there is a difference of only 17 percent between the proportions of "A" and "C" students (73 vs 56) having a high LOA. Of 6 "D" students, one has a high LOA. The comparable difference for white boys is 26 percent (79 vs 53) with 5 out of 19 of the "D" students having high LOA's. Given the small number of "D" students, the association of grades and LOA is primarily for "A" to "C" students.

In the case of white children whose fathers have low aspirations for them grades tend to be predictive of whether they will fall in the low LOA or medium LOA group. "A" students (boys and girls) are, however, quite differentiated from the others in their greater likelihood of having a high LOA and in their lesser likelihood of having a low LOA.

"A" students are distinguished by their rarity among the Negroes. None of the boys, and only two of the girls, are in this category. The majority of the Negro children have average grades of "C" or "D".[1] Within the narrow range of their grades a consistent association between grades and LOA is found only for the girls whose fathers want them to have four or more years of college.

There is, or course, an interaction between level of academic achievement and aspirations. The higher children's aspirations the more motivated they are to work for good grades as a means to realizing their aspirations. Conversely, other things being equal, the better their grades the more likely it is that children will be encouraged to raise their academic aspirations.

We turn now to the relation between fathers' aspirations for their children and the graded record of their school achievement. For white boys and girls the association is sharp and consistent. The percentages of fathers with high aspirations for boys having an "A" "B", "C", and "D" average are respectively 87, 77, 61, and 31. The corresponding percentages for the girls are 81, 62, 38, and 25. For Negro boys the comparable percentages[2] are -, 50, 55, and 35; for Negro girls they are 100 (two students), 88, 44, and 40. It is interesting to note that a slightly larger proportion of the fathers of Negro girls who are "B" students, than of the fathers of white girls at this level, want them to have four or more years of college.

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[1] Comparison of grades given children in the Negro school with those given children in the white, working-class schools suggests that grades are assigned in terms of an absolute or inter-school standard which is less closely approximated by Negro than by white children.

[2] There are no Negro boys with an "A" average.

The correlation noted above between children's I.Q. scores and their fathers' aspiration for them probably reflects, in large part, the correlation between I.Q. scores and grades. As a rule neither parents nor children will know the latter"s scores on I.Q. or aptitude tests. But they are constantly confronted with grades and our data suggest that fathers may tend to tailor their aspirations to their children's grades. A final observation about fathers' aspirations relative to grades is that parental aspirations for boys and girls converge most closely for those with an "A" average and a "D" average. The highest achievers, whether they be boys or girls, encourage and sustain high parental aspirations whereas the lowest achievers of both sexes offer little reason for the development or maintenance of such parental aspirations; and it is interesting to note that the sex difference with respect to fathers' high aspirations is largest for marginal students with the average grade of "C".

Liking for School

And Level of Aspiration

The measure of liking for school in the present research was a Guttman scale of five items descriptive of a child's general liking for school, the items not referring to any specific dimension of the school situation. The scale could be conceived as tapping the degree to which a child was--for the sum of whatever reasons--attracted to, or repulsed by, school. It might be thought that variations in scores on such a scale would be largely a function of children's feelings about the academic dimension of school activity and that consequently the greater their scholastic aptitude and achievement the higher would be their scores on liking for school. This in turn would lead us to expect a high correlation between liking for school and LOA.

The interesting finding from the data of Table 5.5 is that the correlation is relatively small compared to the correlation between LOA and most of the other variables considered in this study. White boys whose fathers want them to have four or more years of college are only 22 percent more likely to have a high LOA if they have a high rather than a low liking for school (77 percent versus 55 percent). In the latter case the boys are somewhat more likely to have either a medium or low LOA. Among boys whose fathers want them to have less than a college education those high on liking for school are somewhat less likely to have low LOA's than those low on school liking (68 percent compared with 82 percent); the former are a little more likely than the latter to have medium LOA's (24 percent vs. 16 percent). Since, the pattern for white girls is almost identical to that of the boys, it needs no additional comment.

Negro boys and girls also reveal a relatively small association between

TABLE 5.5 -- Percentages of boys and girls having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by race, fathers' aspirations for their children and children's liking for school

Father's Race and Aspiration	Liking for School									
	Low Liking					High Liking				
	Low LOA	Medium LOA	High LOA	Total %	N	Low LOA	Medium LOA	High LOA	Total %	N
	BOYS									
White Fathers										
Four or More Years College	16	29	55	100	289	6	17	77	100	351
Less Than 4 Years College	82	16	2	100	170	68	24	8	100	100
Negro Fathers										
Four or More Years College	42	15	42	100	26	15	30	55	100	20
Less Than 4 Years College	74	22	4	100	27	59	36	5	100	22
	GIRLS									
White Fathers										
Four or More Years College	19	30	50	99	204	6	20	74	100	365
Less Than 4 Years College	84	13	3	100	196	66	23	11	100	150
Negro Fathers										
Four or More Years College	18	41	41	100	22	3	26	71	100	31
Less Than 4 Years College	83	17	0	100	35	33	50	17	100	12

Percentages for boys are not comparable with those for girls in parallel cells of the table.

their LOA and school liking. Among the Negro boys whose fathers have high aspirations for them, those liking school are 13 percent more likely than those with little liking for school to have high LOA's and 15 percent more likely to have medium LOA's. Among boys whose fathers want them to have less than a college education, liking for school influences--as with white boys--the probability of their having medium rather than low LOA's.

Liking for school appears to influence the LOA of Negro girls more than that of any of the three groups already reviewed. If their fathers want them to have a college education, Negro girls who like school are 30 percent more likely than those not caring for school to have a high LOA (71 _versus_ 41 percent). If their fathers don't want them to be college graduates, none of those low on school liking have high LOA's as compared with 17 percent of those high on school liking. (There are, however, only 12 cases in the latter group.) It might be added that if their fathers have high aspirations for them, and they like school, Negro girls have virtually the same probability of having a high LOA as do comparable white girls. This is not the case for Negro boys who--whether they like school or not--have lower LOA's than white boys.

Finally, it can be observed in Table 5.3 that there is a considerable correlation between their fathers' aspirations and children's LOA regardless of whether the latter are high or low in liking for school. This holds for all groups although the association is somewhat lower for Negro boys than for white boys. It is interesting to note, however, that there is relatively little connection between children's liking for school and their fathers' aspirations for them. The fathers of 78 percent of _white boys_ who like school as compared with 63 percent of those who don't are described as wanting them to graduate from college. The parallel percentages for _white girls_ are 71 and 51.

There is no association between _Negro boys_' attitude to school and their fathers' aspirations for them. In the case of the girls there is an association; 72 percent of those who like school, as compared with 39 percent who do not, report their fathers to have high aspirations for them.[1]

Certainty of Going to College And Level of Aspiration

In answer to the question of how sure they were of going to college the great majority of our subjects indicated they were "very sure" or "pretty sure". One or the other of these responses was given by 83 percent of the white boys and girls, 74 percent of the Negro boys and 72 percent of the Negro girls. Many of these students--the Negroes particularly--were obviously being unrealistically optimistic about their probable academic future. Much less than half of those who were sure of going to college were likely to ever do so. Nonetheless, as of the end of the eighth grade this was presumably their sense of what lay ahead for them.

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[1] The reader is reminded that cross-sex comparisons are unwarranted because of differences between the boys' and the girls' scales on liking for school.

Table 5.4 compares the LOA's of children who say they are certain they are not going to college with those of children certain they are going. If it be assumed that a feeling of certainty of going to college rests partly on a strong desire to go--and conversely that certainty of not going rests on a desire not to go--we would expect children with higher LOA's to be more certain of going. Further, if persons' judgments of the certainty of their ability or means (or both) to achieve a goal influences the extent to which they will aspire for that goal, we would expect that children who are sure of going to college would have higher LOA's than those who are not. Either or both of the foregoing assumptions, could account for the association between LOA and certainty of going to college which can be seen in the data of Table 5.4.

The percentages as presented in the table show that students sure of going to college are more likely to have high LOA's (and less likely to have low LOA's), than those sure they are not going. This holds for students whose fathers have low aspirations for them as well as for those whose fathers have high aspirations. The association is less marked for Negro boys than for white boys and is minimal for Negro girls.

Another way of viewing the relation between LOA and certainty of going to college is to ask what proportions of students with high, medium, and low LOA's are sure of going. The data of Table 5.4 were re-analyzed to answer this question and the percentages for white boys were found to be 96 (for those with high LOA's), 94 (medium LOA's), and 55 (low LOA's). The corresponding percentages for white girls were 99, 94, and 56. For Negro boys they were 92, 96, 53 and for Negro girls they were 88, 79, and 54. Thus virtually all boys and girls--with Negro girls somewhat the exception--with high or medium LOA's report they are "very sure" or "pretty sure" of going to college. In these groups, boys and girls were equating their aspiration with their certainty of going.[1] (This was likewise true of some of the children with low LOA's.) It, therefore, might be said that the Negro girls were being more realistic than the other groups of children in differentiating between their aspiration and the probability of achieving it.

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[1] The high LOA category is made up of those who said they wanted four or more years of college and were high on the scale on intensity of desire to go. The medium LOA category includes those wanting four or more years of college with low intensity of desire or a few years of college with high intensity. The low LOA category is comprised of students wanting a few years of college with low intensity. It also includes the small number whose goal was high school graduation or less.

TABLE 5.6 -- Percentages of boys and girls having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by certainty of going to college, fathers' race and educational aspiration for their children

Father's Race and Aspiration	Certainty About College									
	Sure Not Going					Sure Going				
	Low LOA	Medium LOA	High LOA	Total %	N	Low LOA	Medium LOA	High LOA	Total %	N
				BOYS						
White Fathers										
Four or More Years College	48	5	36	99	44	8	23	69	100	594
Less Than 4 Years College	94	5	1	100	108	64	29	7	100	160
Negro Fathers										
Four or More Years College	60	0	40	100	5	27	24	49	100	41
Less Than 4 Years College	95	5	0	100	20	48	45	7	100	29
				GIRLS						
White Fathers										
Four or More Years College	48	29	23	100	21	10	23	67	100	539
Less Than 4 Years College	96	4	0	100	136	63	26	11	100	207
Negro Fathers										
Four or More Years College	20	20	60	100	5	7	33	60	100	45
Less Than 4 Years College	73	23	5	101	22	68	28	4	100	25

The foregoing analysis indicates that children's feeling of certainty of going to college interacts with their aspiration to go.[1] It, therefore, was to be expected that their fathers' aspirations for them--as a major influence on the children's educational aspirations--would be highly predictive of boys' and girls' certainty of going or not going to college. This expectation was borne out. For white boys we find that of those whose fathers want them to have four or more years of college, 93 per cent are sure of going; if their fathers' aspiration is lower 60 per cent are sure of going. The corresponding percentages for white girls are 96 and 60. For Negro boys they are 89 and 59, and for girls, 90 and 53. Fathers' aspirations and children's aspirations are therefore almost identically predictive of the latter's sense of certainty of going to college.

Discussion of Results

Throughout the results presented in this chapter, the dominant influence of parents' educational aspirations on their children's level of aspirations is apparent. When children's I.Q. level, their grade average, their general attitude toward school, or their certainty of going to college is each, in turn, introduced into the analysis, parental aspirations as an independent influence dominates the picture, i.e., is most predictive of children's LOA. Each of the other variables--I.Q., grades, attitude, and certainty--is demonstrated, in turn, to be correlated with LOA independently of parental influence, but the magnitude of the influence of these other factors compared with that of parental aspirations suggests their secondary importance among children at this age level.

When we consider the relation to children's educational aspirations of their academic aptitude (I.Q.), their academic achievement (grades), their general attitude toward school, and the certainty they feel that they will actually go to college, we find each of these factors to be influential. The children with higher aspirations are those who demonstrate greater academic aptitude, or greater academic achievement, or who express more positive attitudes toward school, or who feel more certain that they are going to college. Each of these factors has an interactive effect with parental aspirations, for each modifies the influence on LOA of parental aspirations, and, at the same time, is related to parental aspirations. Thus, for example, children with good grades are more likely to have high aspirations for themselves, regardless of what aspirations their parents hold for them; but the parent of a child with better grades is also more likely to have high aspirations for the child. The effects of grades modify parental aspirations and the effects of both are independent and additive in their influence on the child's LOA.

What has been stated above in this summary holds true with full consistency for white children of both sexes. The results are less consistent for our small group of Negro children as the exceptions and qualifications noted below indicate. Lack of variability in the distribution of I.Q. scores for the Negro boys and girls obscures the possible effects of I.Q. on their aspirations. Grades appeared to have no influence on the LOA of Negro boys independently of parental aspirations, and only an insignificant indication of the independent influence of grades was evident among Negro girls. While the aspirations of fathers of Negro girls were related to the girls grades, this relation was negligible among Negro boys. Similarly, a relation between attitude toward school and fathers' aspiration was strongly manifest among Negro girls, but not at all evident among Negro boys. And, finally, LOA was associated with certainty of going to college independently of the effects of parental aspirations among Negro boys but not among Negro girls.

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[1] This interaction is asymetrical in that LOA is more predictive of certainty of going to college than certainty is of LOA.

Sex differences appeared between white boys and girls in the effects on LOA of academic achievement (grades) and certainty of going to college, the only factors in which sex comparisons are legitimate in terms of our data. The LOA of boys was more influenced than that of girls by the grade average they achieved. The degree of certainty that a child felt that he or she was really going to college had more impact independently of parental influences on girls' than on boys' aspirations.

Racial differences among boys with respect to the influence of grades, attitude toward school, and certainty about going to college all suggest that these factors operate more on the LOA of white boys than on that of Negro boys. The same differences are found between white and Negro girls except that attitude toward school influenced the LOA's of girls of the two races to the same degree.

In brief recapitulation, then, our results show that such factors as academic aptitude (I.Q.), academic achievement (grades), general attitudes toward school, and degree of certainty felt about going to college are correlated with children's level of educational aspiration but that the weight of these correlates is secondary to a considerable degree compared with the major and dominating influence of parental aspirations on those of their children.

CHAPTER 6

THE QUALITY OF PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS AND CONCORDANCE OF ASPIRATIONS

The results presented in the two previous chapters strongly suggest that parents' aspirations[1] for their children are the most important determinant of their children's educational aspirations. Given the importance of parental aspirations, it is still true that not all children share the high or low aspirations held for them by their parents. This chapter deals with the significant problem of what conditions influence children to adopt or reject their parents' aspirations for them.[2] This question, in its wider significance, is related to the more general sphere of the socialization processes in the transmission of values and goal commitments from parents to offspring.

The results presented in this chapter support the hypothesis that children who have more favorable perceptions of their parents' relations to them are more likely to subscribe to, and to adopt for themselves, the aspirations held for them by their parents.

Two Guttman-type scales[3] were used to measure the favorability of children's perceptions of the father-child and the mother-child relationship. The content of the "helpfulness" scale is descriptive of the extent to which a child sees each parent as a source of psychological help in coping with problems and worries. The content of the "esteem" scale has to do with the extent to which a child sees each parent as a person who contributes to and supports the child's self-esteem.

Paternal Helpfulness

Children in each of the four groups--white boys, white girls, Negro boys, and Negro girls--are more likely to have a high level of aspiration (LOA) in agreement with their father's high aspirations for them (four or more

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[1] I.e., the aspirations and the home influences associated with them.

[2] This phenomenon was not central to our investigation, but our data permitted the limited analysis presented in this chapter of the possible effects of the parent-child relationships on the concordance of aspirations of parents and child.

[3] The scales are described in detail in Chapter 3.

TABLE 6.1 -- Percentages of boys and girls having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by race, fathers' helpfulness and aspirations for their children

Father's Aspiration and Helpfulness	Child's Level of Aspiration			Total	
	Low	Medium	High	%	N
		BOYS			
White Fathers					
High Aspiration[1]					
High helpfulness	10	18	73	101	369
Low helpfulness	12	29	59	100	262
Low Aspiration[2]					
High helpfulness	75	20	5	100	121
Low helpfulness	78	18	4	100	141
Negro Fathers					
High Aspiration					
High helpfulness	28	16	56	100	25
Low helpfulness	35	30	35	100	20
Low Aspiration					
High helpfulness	61	36	4	101	28
Low helpfulness	78	17	6	101	18
		GIRLS			
White Fathers					
High Aspiration					
High helpfulness	9	19	72	100	311
Low helpfulness	13	29	59	101	252
Low Aspiration					
High helpfulness	73	20	7	100	157
Low helpfulness	80	14	6	100	188
Negro Fathers					
High Aspiration					
High helpfulness	14	18	68	100	28
Low helpfulness	4	46	50	100	24
Low Aspiration					
High helpfulness	50	40	10	100	20
Low helpfulness	85	15	0	100	27

[1] Four or more years of college.

[2] Less than college graduation.

years of college)[1] when they perceive their fathers to be more helpful to them in coping with problems and worries than when they see them as not very helpful (Table 6.1). For example, among white boys whose fathers have high aspirations for them 59 percent have a high LOA when father's helpfulness is low, while 73 percent have a high LOA when father's helpfulness is high. Among white children of both sexes, however, the possible effect of father-child helpfulness appears to be suppressed by the dominant influence of the father's low aspiration.

Negro boys whose fathers have low aspirations for them are somewhat more likely to have a medium LOA when father's helpfulness is high (36 percent) than when helpfulness is low (17 percent). Negro girls with low paternal aspirations are more likely to have a medium or a high LOA, rather than a low LOA, with a more helpful father.

It is strikingly evident in Table 6.1, as well as in the three subsequent tables, that whether parents are favorably or unfavorably evaluated a high correlation obtains between their aspirations and those of their children. This suggests that at some point in children's lives parental values may be so strongly internalized that some children's continued adherence to these values becomes independent of their feelings toward their parents.

Paternal Esteem

The relation between fathers' esteem and congruence of parent-child aspirations (Table 6.2) is similar to that noted for fathers' helpfulness. The more favorably the fathers are perceived in terms of their contribution to their children's self-esteem the more often children have high aspirations that are in agreement with the high aspirations of their fathers.

In the case of Negro boys there is a difference between the pattern of relationship observed for fathers' helpfulness and that found for fathers' esteem. The difference is that no association is apparent between fathers' esteem and concordance of aspirations for children whose fathers want

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[1] It will be recalled from Chapter 3 that children with a high LOA want four or more years of college _and_ are high on their intensity of desire to go. They, therefore, are strongly in agreement with parents who wish them to have four or more years of college. Some of the children classified as having a medium LOA also want a college education but they are relatively low on the intensity of their desire for it. They consequently may be regarded as somewhat less accepting of high parental aspirations. The sharpest divergence in parent-child aspirations is in the cases in which the parent has high aspirations for the child and the child has a low LOA, or the parent has low aspirations and the child has a high LOA.

TABLE 6.2 -- Percentages of boys and girls having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by race, fathers' esteem and aspirations for their children

Father's Aspiration and Esteem	Child's Level of Aspiration Low	Medium	High	Total %	N
BOYS					
White Fathers					
High Aspiration[1]					
High esteem	8	20	72	100	368
Low esteem	14	26	61	101	261
Low Aspiration[2]					
High esteem	74	21	5	100	132
Low esteem	80	17	3	100	130
Negro Fathers					
High Aspiration					
High esteem	32	20	49	101	35
Low esteem	27	27	46	100	11
Low Aspiration					
High esteem	50	42	8	100	26
Low esteem	90	10	0	100	20
GIRLS					
White Fathers					
High Aspiration					
High esteem	8	18	74	100	304
Low esteem	14	30	56	100	261
Low Aspiration					
High esteem	70	22	7	99	138
Low esteem	81	14	6	101	206
Negro Fathers					
High Aspiration					
High esteem	8	19	74	101	27
Low esteem	12	44	44	100	25
Low Aspiration					
High esteem	61	28	11	100	18
Low esteem	76	24	0	100	29

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[1] Four or more years of college.

[2] Less than college graduation.

them to be college graduates.[1] Negro boys whose fathers have low aspirations for them, however, are far less likely to have low LOA's (and more likely to have medium LOA's) if their fathers are seen as contributing more rather than less to the child's self-esteem. In the case of Negro girls the relation between fathers' esteem and the congruence of parent-child aspirations is sharper than for any other group.

Maternal Helpfulness

Comparison of the data of Tables 6.3 and 6.1 indicates that children's perceptions of the helpfulness of fathers and of the helpfulness of mothers are almost identically related to agreement between children's and parents' aspirations. Children whose mothers want them to graduate from college are consistently more likely to have high LOA's if their mothers are seen as high on helpfulness. Among children whose mothers have low aspirations, however, there is no association between how the mothers are evaluated and the children's LOA.

There is an indication in the data of Table 6.3 that mothers' helpfulness may be more closely linked to agreement between parent and child aspirations among Negro boys than among white boys. This difference appears among mothers who desire four or more years of college for their sons. Sons of white mothers in this group are more likely by 10 percent to have high LOA's if they perceive their mothers as high rather than low on helpfulness (73 versus 63). The parallel difference for Negro boys is 28 percent (70 versus 42). The reliability of this difference is supported by the occurrence of a similar difference which appears in the data on mothers' esteem (Table 6.4).

Maternal Esteem

The degree to which a child perceives his mother as contributing to his sense of importance as an individual and to his self-esteem also appears to influence the likelihood that he will have high aspirations that are in agreement with his mother's high aspirations for him (Table 6.4). Given a mother with high aspirations, all but the Negro girls tend to express higher aspirations if maternal support for their self-esteem is seen as high rather than low. Given a mother with low aspirations it is also the Negro girls alone who tend to have somewhat higher aspirations (a medium LOA rather than a low LOA) when their mothers are perceived as providing relatively strong support for their child's self-esteem.

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[1] The difference in the results obtained for Negro boys with the helpfulness and esteem scales may be a consequence of fluctuation in the composition of the Negro respondent group in the two analyses. Some of the boys for whom the data were reported in Table 6.1 are not included in Table 6.2 because of failure to answer some of the items on the esteem scale. The difference may, however, be a true difference.

TABLE 6.3 -- Percentages of boys and girls having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by race, mothers' helpfulness and aspirations for their children

	Child's Level of Aspiration			Total	
Mother's Aspiration and Helpfulness	Low	Medium	High	%	N
BOYS					
White Mothers					
High Aspiration[1]					
High helpfulness	7	20	73	100	308
Low helpfulness	12	25	63	100	278
Low Aspiration[2]					
High helpfulness	71	21	8	100	184
Low helpfulness	77	19	4	100	213
Negro Mothers					
High Aspiration					
High helpfulness	6	24	70	100	37
Low helpfulness	19	39	42	100	31
Low Aspiration					
High helpfulness	70	26	4	100	27
Low helpfulness	69	28	3	100	32
GIRLS					
White Mothers					
High Aspiration					
High helpfulness	8	19	73	100	402
Low helpfulness	13	32	55	100	289
Low Aspiration					
High helpfulness	77	18	6	101	155
Low helpfulness	79	16	5	100	155
Negro Mothers					
High Aspiration					
High helpfulness	20	20	60	100	35
Low helpfulness	35	15	50	100	20
Low Aspiration					
High helpfulness	67	29	5	101	42
Low helpfulness	76	24	0	100	25

[1] Four or more years of college.

[2] Less than college graduation.

TABLE 6.4 -- Percentages of boys and girls having a low, medium or high level of aspiration (LOA), in groups defined by race, mothers' esteem and aspirations for their children

Mother's Aspiration and Esteem	Child's Level of Aspiration			Total	
	Low	Medium	High	%	N
		BOYS			
White Mothers					
High Aspiration[1]					
High esteem	6	15	78	99	281
Low esteem	12	29	59	100	305
Low Aspiration[2]					
High esteem	69	23	8	100	155
Low esteem	78	18	4	100	243
Negro Mothers					
High Aspiration					
High esteem	5	21	74	100	38
Low esteem	20	43	37	100	30
Low Aspiration					
High esteem	68	27	5	100	22
Low esteem	72	25	3	100	36
		GIRLS			
White Mothers					
High Aspiration					
High esteem	8	21	72	101	367
Low esteem	12	29	59	100	320
Low Aspiration					
High esteem	76	18	6	100	123
Low esteem	79	16	6	101	185
Negro Mothers					
High Aspiration					
High esteem	25	18	57	100	28
Low esteem	26	19	56	101	27
Low Aspiration					
High esteem	64	32	5	101	41
Low esteem	82	19	0	101	27

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[1] Four or more years of college.

[2] Less than college graduation.

Parent-Child Aspirations and Concordance Of Aspirations in Intact Families

The results presented above are consistent with the assumption that the quality of parent-child relations, as measured by our four scales, influences the likelihood that boys and girls will adopt the aspirations held for them by their parents. These results were obtained from the separate analysis of the data on each of the scales for all fathers (or father substitutes) and for all mothers (or mother substitutes).

Such an analysis leaves unanswered the following interesting and significant questions: (1) Is the father's psychological helpfulness of equal or more importance than his support for the child's self-esteem in the child's identification with his high aspirations? (2) Is the mother's psychological helpfulness of equal or more importance than her support for the child's self-esteem in the child's adoption of high aspirations? (3) Do the mother-child and father-child relationship have a different impact on the child's adoption of their high aspirations? To investigate these questions we made a multivariate analysis[1] of the data for a subsample of the study group consisting of all white children[2] living with both biological parents.[3]

It should be emphasized that the multivariate analysis was concerned only with accounting for the influence of the quality of parent-child relations on children's adoption of high parental aspirations for them.[4] The results of this analysis[5] are quite striking. For both boys and girls paternal esteem is found to be more significantly associated than paternal helpfulness with children's adoption of their fathers' high aspirations for them, the difference being much greater for girls than for boys. For mothers, on the other hand, the situation is reversed, their helpfulness being much more important than their esteem in relation to children's adoption of their high aspirations, with the difference here far more marked for boys than for girls. Finally, evaluation of the relative influence of maternal helpfulness and paternal esteem reveals that the former is more influential than the latter in the adoption by both boys and girls of high parental aspirations. This divergence is much sharper for boys than for girls. In the adoption of high parental aspirations girls appear to be somewhat influenced by the quality of their fathers', as well as their mothers', relation to them. Boys, on the other hand, are apparently much more influenced by their mothers' relations to them, and only slightly so by their relationship with their fathers.

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[1] See James Coleman, "Multivariate Analysis", Baltimore, John Hopkins University, 1958, (Mimeographed).

[2] There were too few Negro children with intact families for a multivariate analysis of the Negro group.

[3] The analysis was limited to children from intact families to control for the differential effects of the quality of parent-child relations which could be attributed to the nature of possible parent substitutes such as duration of the relationship with the child.

[4] As noted earlier, the aspirations of children whose parents had low aspirations for them were relatively uninfluenced by the quality of the parent-child relationship.

[5] The data are omitted here. They will appear in a later report as part of a more extended analysis which remains to be completed.

The brevity of this chapter makes a summary unnecessary. All that need be said is that the material presented in it points up and contributes evidence for an assumption to which no one would take exception--namely, that there are qualities of the parent-child relationship which are of utmost importance in determining the extent to which children are disposed to accept and strongly internalize parental values, whether these relate to education or to some other significant life dimension.

CHAPTER 7

SOCIAL CLASS DIFFERENCES IN CHILDREN'S SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT

Introduction

This chapter reports the data and findings relating to the second major question investigated in our study, the question of whether there are social class differences in the school adjustment of boys and girls. As indicated in Chapter 1 the current view, the evidence for which is either qualitative or qualitatively of limited scope, is that there are such differences. Children of the lower social strata are thought to find being in school a much less congenial and rewarding experience--and in this sense to be more poorly adjusted in school--than children from families of the higher social classes. This supposition was tested by our data with a number of indicators of adjustment. Some of the indicators are children's reports of their feelings about, and attitudes to, various aspects of the school situation. In other instances adjustment is inferred from variables which are less direct measures of the extent to which the children find being in school a satisfying experience.

The measures of adjustment are discussed below in conjunction with the findings relating to them. As in the preceding chapter, each of the tables presented incorporates the data for boys and girls, white and Negro. The white children are grouped by their family's social class position, ranging from I (upper class) to V (lower-working class). The data for Negro boys and girls are limited to Classes IV (upper-working class) and V. There were too few Negroes in Classes I to III (lower-middle class) to warrant their inclusion in the analysis. The data for the Negro children were used to test the assumption that their school adjustment does not differ from that of white children of comparable social strata.

The data for the white children were initially analyzed with the children grouped by their family social class and the class composition of the school they were attending. The twofold purpose was (a) to test the hypothesis of social class variation in adjustment within both the predominantly middle-class and the predominantly working-class schools, and (b) insofar as it was feasible in terms of the number of cases to compare the adjustment of children who were of the same family-class level but who differed in the class compostion of their school. With the few exceptions noted below the analysis of the data for the foregoing purposes yielded negative findings, i.e., when all white children were grouped together the resultant pattern of the data was generally reflected in each of the two levels of schools and differences by school level between children of Class III and Class IV--these being the only two social classes represented in the two levels of school in sufficient number to warrant comparison--were not consistently evident. For this

TABLE 7.1 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes with indicated grade average

Subjects and Grade Average	Social Class				
	V	IV	III	II	I
White Boys					
A	3	8	17	26	46
B	37	39	47	47	38
C	60	53	36	28	16
Total	100	100	100	101	100
(No.)	(67)	(349)	(260)	(235)	(92)
Negro Boys					
A	0	4	0	0	0
B	19	12	0	0	0
C	81	83	0	0	0
Total	100	99	0	0	0
(No.)	(42)	(24)	0	0	0
White Girls					
A	7	20	32	50	60
B	31	44	46	40	28
C	62	36	22	11	13
Total	100	100	100	101	101
(No.)	(74)	(332)	(265)	(236)	(102)
Negro Girls					
A	0	5	0	0	0
B	17	21	0	0	0
C	83	74	0	0	0
Total	100	100	0	0	0
(No.)	(48)	(43)	0	0	0

reason the data are presented below for all white schools combined.

Significance of the School Task

The constraints and demands upon adolescents in school are more tolerable, even if school tasks are not in themselves immediately rewarding and satisfying, to the extent that children regard their present school experiences as an essential step toward the achievement of the important ultimate goal of going to college. Children of the lower[1] social classes, in having lower educational aspirations (as we have seen in the previous chapter), consequently may be more maladjusted in the school situation and find it less satisfying than children of the higher[1] social strata. We have also seen in the previous chapter that parents in the higher classes more than those in the lower classes support and reinforce the value of school by their high aspirations for their children.

Competence in the School Task

Lower class children are aware of their relatively poor academic performance because they earn poorer grades. In Table 7.1 we see that among white children Class I boys and Class I and II girls most often receive A's, Class II and III boys and Class III and IV girls most often receive B's, and Class IV and V boys and Class V girls most often receive C's or lower. The overwhelming preponderance of Negro boys and girls of both Classes IV and V have C or D averages. Differences between middle- and working-class schools in grade averages appear only among white girls where Class III and Class IV girls have higher grade averages in middle-class schools. Social-class differences are also apparent _within_ each level of school.

Low grades must lead lower class children to conceive of themselves as not being particularly suited for school activities, a self-conception which is probably reinforced by parental evaluations of their scholastic abilities. Confirming this, the data of Table 7.2 show that relatively higher class boys and girls feel more adequate about their academic performance than do relatively lower class boys and girls for they less often feel they are poor at school work. It is interesting to note that Negro children feel more adequate about their academic performance than do white children of the same sex and social level. It is, perhaps _de facto_ segregation, which leads to these Negro children being in a virtually all-Negro school, that mitigates the impact of low grades on their sense of adequacy, for they compare their grades only with others in

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[1] It need hardly be said that the terms "higher" and "lower" as applied to social classes are not being used pejoratively but rather for convenience of exposition.

TABLE 7.2 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes who report they never or hardly ever have the feeling they are not much good at school work

Subjects	Social Class I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	57 (92)	43 (230)	44 (257)	32 (339)	32 (66)
Negro boys	- -	- -	- -	40 (32)	44 (57)
White girls	46 (100)	46 (224)	40 (258)	30 (322)	18 (69)
Negro girls	- -	- -	- -	39 (46)	27 (49)

TABLE 7.3 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes who report they find none or only one of their school subjects very hard or pretty hard

Subjects	Social Class I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	59 (91)	48 (230)	56 (257)	50 (338)	55 (66)
Negro boys	- -	- -	- -	50 (32)	56 (57)
White girls	62 (100)	56 (225)	61 (258)	55 (322)	54 (69)
Negro girls	- -	- -	- -	41 (46)	53 (49)

their classes who also tend to have low grades.[1]

The inference that self-conceptions about academic adequacy are partly, at least, the result of children's interpretation of their grades and other cues is strongly suggested by the fact that relatively lower class children are not more prone than relatively higher class children to say that they find their school subjects very hard or pretty hard. (See Table 7.3) Grades and self-conceptions of adequacy may become linked in a self-fulfilling prophecy; children of the higher classes presumably respond to subject matter they feel to be difficult with a sense of adequacy that encourages them to master the difficulty and, in turn, the reward they receive in the higher grades[2] feeds back to support the conviction that they can cope with difficult material. Lower class children, on the other hand, feeling less adequate, are more apt perhaps to become discouraged by difficult material and to give up rather than exerting more effort. For them, low grades probably tend to reinforce their sense of inadequacy and to further diminish their efforts at mastery. From the resulting discouragement it could be inferred that lower class children would be more maladjusted, feeling more out of place and less happy in the school situation than children of the higher classes.

Attitude to Teachers

For children, their teachers represent the school: teachers provide the learning tasks, evaluate and reward performance with grades, and maintain the constraints of discipline with approval of "good" behavior and disapproval--or even punishment--of disruptive behavior. One might expect that lower class children, who are less competent and successful in the school task, would be disposed to perceive their teachers as not liking them, discriminating against them, not understanding them, and so forth. Such perceptions could help lower class children rationalize their relative academic failure by shifting responsibility for it from themselves to teachers who "unfairly" reward children of higher classes. Further, in reaction to being less interested in school tasks, less competent at them and less rewarded for their efforts, the behavior of lower class children could be expected to evoke actual disfavor from teachers--leading such children to feel their relations with teachers are unfavorable. In view of the foregoing assumptions the results

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[1] This is not to be construed as supporting the "protective" value of school racial segregation--de facto or otherwise--for if the possibility of invidious comparisons of grades are reduced so is the competitive intellectual and environmental challenge to higher achievement.

[2] It may be that lower class children are less motivated than higher class children by the symbolic reward value of grades as an expression of the former's more general orientation to tangible rather than symbolic rewards.

TABLE 7.4 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls* in various social classes who are high on scale of favorability of relations with teachers

	Social Class				
Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	60	53	56	54	59
	(91)	(230)	(257)	(338)	(66)
Negro boys	-	-	-	66	54
	-	-	-	(32)	(57)
White girls	41	45	45	48	40
	(100)	(222)	(256)	(320)	(68)
Negro girls	-	-	-	46	51
	-	-	-	(46)	(49)

*Percentages of boys and girls in parallel cells of the table are not comparable.

TABLE 7.5 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes who report that they find it hard to obey some school rules and regulations

	Social Class				
Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	36	48	47	48	54
	(92)	(234)	(263)	(349)	(72)
Negro boys	-	-	-	49	54
	-	-	-	(35)	(59)
White girls	18	20	26	27	30
	(102)	(238)	(269)	(332)	(74)
Negro girls	-	-	-	39	57
	-	-	-	(46)	(51)

presented in Table 7.4 on children's perceptions of teachers' relations with them are surprising. Despite the expectations of social class differences involving the assumption that a state of alienation exists between lower class pupils and middle class teachers, we find that lower class children are as likely as higher class children to feel that they enjoy the favorable regard--acceptance, sympathy, understanding, fair treatment-- of their teachers. Of interest, too, is the finding that Negro children feel as well regarded by their teachers as do white children. In fact, two groups of Negro children (Class IV boys and Class V girls) more often than comparable white children feel they are well treated by their teachers. From the absence of social class differences, we infer that lower class children do not more often than children of the higher classes question the legitimacy of the lower grades they receive, or more often tend to feel alienated or negative discrimination from their teachers.

In view of the above findings regarding relations to teachers, it is interesting that lower class boys and girls tend to have more difficulty in obeying school rules and regulations (Table 7.5) and tend to be more likely to feel they have been unfairly blamed at school for things they didn't do (Table 7.6). The data of Table 7.5 indicate that the constraint of school rules is more onerous for lower class white boys and girls, although girls in each social class find the constraint of school rules to be less difficult than their male social-class counterparts. Negro boys are similar to white boys of comparable social class in this respect, but Negro girls find rule compliance more difficult than do white girls. This relationship of social class and the difficulty of obeying rules and regulations was not reflected (data not presented) within middle-class or working-class schools for white boys, nor within working-class schools for girls. Only boys of Class III found rule compliance harder in working-class schools than in middle-class schools, while there were no differences by school type for boys and girls of Class IV and girls of Class III.

Social class differences in being unfairly blamed at school (Table 7.6) are apparent for boys, those of Class I feeling the most justly treated (51 percent feeling blamed unfairly) followed by increasing percentages in Class II, III and IV, and V with Class V having 72 percent feeling blamed unfairly. White girls of the higher four classes, in contrast to those of Class V, feel more fairly treated, and girls generally feel more justly treated than do boys. Negro boys tend to feel unfairly blamed more than white boys of the same social class, but only Negro girls of Class IV feel unjustly treated more than white girls of comparable social class (49 percent versus 38 percent). When the relationship of social class to feeling of fair treatment was examined within each type of school (data not presented here) it was found to obtain only for boys within middle-class schools and only for white girls within working-class schools. Examination of differences between schools for the two social classes warranting comparison--Class III and IV--showed that Class IV boys in middle-class schools feel blamed unfairly more than those in working-class schools (73 percent versus 58 percent).

TABLE 7.6 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes who report that they are sometimes blamed unfairly for things they didn't do at school

Subjects	Social Class				
	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	51	56	62	64	72
	(92)	(233)	(262)	(349)	(70)
Negro boys	-	-	-	66	78
	-	-	-	(35)	(59)
White girls	31	31	41	38	51
	(102)	(236)	(269)	(330)	(74)
Negro girls	-	-	-	49	49
	-	-	-	(45)	(51)

TABLE 7.7 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes who received indicated number of choices as desired best friend from same-sex peers

Subjects and Number of Choices	Social Class I	II	III	IV	V
White boys					
None	25	28	24	27	28
One or two	42	41	45	45	45
Three or four	24	18	19	15	16
Five or more	9	14	12	13	10
Total:	100	101	100	100	99
(No.)	(92)	(235)	(263)	(350)	(67)
Negro boys					
None	-	-	-	33	19
One or two	-	-	-	30	40
Three or four	-	-	-	30	25
Five or more	-	-	-	6	16
Total:				99	100
(No.)				(33)	(57)
White girls					
None	16	20	23	24	26
One or two	48	38	40	43	39
Three or four	24	24	22	21	23
Five or more	13	19	15	13	12
Total:	101	101	100	101	100
(No.)	(102)	(237)	(265)	(333)	(74)
Negro girls					
None	-	-	-	21	24
One or two	-	-	-	35	49
Three or four	-	-	-	21	17
Five or more	-	-	-	23	11
Total:				100	101
(No.)				(43)	(47)

Success with Peers

Previous studies have suggested that successful relations with peers in the school situation may be class-linked.[1] Given the importance of peers in the school situation it was thought worthwhile to examine indices of adjustment in this sphere. The data on frequency of sociometric choices as desired best friend received by children from same-sex peers, presented in Table 7.7, display striking uniformity across social class and racial groups. With a single exception, Class IV Negro boys, the modal number of choices received is one or two, and no significant differences appear between social-class or racial groups in the high or low frequency categories of choices.

When we turn from an index of adjustment in the informal peer structure of the school to an index of adjustment in the more formal peer structure of elective homeroom and student-council offices, we find (Table 7.8) that, although the differences are not great, boys and girls of higher class status are disproportionately elected to office by their peers. The single exception to this pattern consists of children of the highest social status (Class I). Negro children uniformly have had less experience than their white sex and class counterparts in participating in the formal peer structure of the school through elective student offices.

Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities

Extra-curricular activities are encouraged by school authorities as constructive use of out-of-class and out-of-school time for the development of creativity and skill in a variety of areas. It was presumed that the appeal of extra-curricular activities would be greater for children of higher classes since they are more committed to school values in general and because of parental encouragement. Participation in activities then provide additional sources of school-linked satisfactions and rewards which are used more by higher-class children. The pattern of the data on participation in extra-curricular activities by children of different social classes (Table 7.9) is most consistent for boys, among whom those of higher social class more often report high participation and less often report low participation. Among white girls the pattern is somewhat less consistent but it still holds. There is a slight tendency (data not presented) for Class III and Class IV children in middle-class schools to participate more than children of the same classes in working-class schools. Negro boys in the all-Negro school more often than boys of the same social class in all-white schools have the highest participation scores (Table 7.9) and they less often, in Class V at least, are non-participants. Only Negro girls of Class V on the other hand, differ from white girls of the same class and only to the extent that there are more non-participants among Negro girls.

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[1] See Coleman, The Adolescent Society, and Abrahamson, op.cit.

TABLE 7.8 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes elected to student office in the 7th or 8th grades

	Social Class				
Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	34 (89)	44 (231)	44 (253)	40 (339)	32 (69)
Negro boys	- -	- -	- -	26 (35)	23 (56)
White girls	36 (101)	50 (236)	44 (264)	42 (333)	36 (72)
Negro girls	- -	- -	- -	36 (44)	16 (50)

TABLE 7.9 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls* in various social classes falling in indicated ranks on scale of participation in extra-curricular activities

Subjects and Scale Rank	Social Class I	II	III	IV	V
White boys					
1 (non-participation)	21	23	24	33	38
2	27	24	27	27	20
3	30	29	30	26	29
4 (most participation)	22	24	19	14	14
Total:	100	100	100	100	101
(No.)	(92)	(238)	(264)	(349)	(72)
Negro boys					
1	-	-	-	34	19
2	-	-	-	17	19
3	-	-	-	14	31
4	-	-	-	34	31
Total:				99	100
(No.)				(35)	(58)
White girls					
1	16	13	12	27	34
2	28	31	35	35	41
3	31	30	31	22	15
4	25	26	21	17	10
Total:	100	100	99	101	100
(No.)	(102)	(237)	(267)	(333)	(73)
Negro girls					
1	-	-	-	26	43
2	-	-	-	33	27
3	-	-	-	26	22
4	-	-	-	15	8
Total:				100	100
(No.)				(46)	(49)

*Percentages of boys and girls in parallel cells of the table are not comparable.

TABLE 7.10 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls* in various social strata who are high on scale of happiness in class

Subjects	Social Class I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	67 (91)	49 (231)	58 (257)	53 (341)	46 (65)
Negro boys	- -	- -	- -	55 (33)	46 (57)
White girls	44 (100)	41 (225)	35 (255)	36 (321)	26 (69)
Negro girls	- -	- -	- -	35 (46)	24 (49)

*Percentages of boys and girls in parallel cells of the table are not comparable.

TABLE 7.11 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls* in various social classes who are high on scale of liking for school

Subjects	Social Class I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	67 (91)	49 (229)	53 (257)	44 (439)	41 (66)
Negro boys	- -	- -	- -	46 (33)	40 (57)
White girls	66 (100)	68 (225)	56 (258)	53 (322)	32 (69)
Negro girls	- -	- -	- -	41 (46)	45 (49)

*Percentages of boys and girls in parallel cells of the table are not comparable.

More Direct Measures Of the Reward Value of School

The particular assumptions advanced in preceding sections of this chapter with respect to the more favorable situation of higher class children in relation to the significance of the school task for ultimate goals, competence in the school task, election to student office, and participation in extra-curricular activities have been supported by our findings. These assumptions would lead one to expect that children of the higher and lower classes would differ in their reports of their happiness in class and, more generally, in their liking for school. The data of Table 7.10 are indeed consistent with this expectation in that the higher the social position of their families the more children tend to report that they are happy in class. The pattern of the data is consistent for all groups of children with the exception of Class II boys in white schools, a smaller proportion of whom--than would be expected from the trend--report being happy in class. Negro children resemble white children of the same sex and social class.

Essentially the same findings appear in Table 7.11, the data showing that children of higher social class are more apt to like school in general. There is a reversal among Negro girls, the percentage of Class V girls who like school slightly exceeding that of Class IV girls, but this difference is based on only a small number of children. The reversal between white boys of Class II (49 percent) and Class III (53 percent), while not large, is more likely a stable difference considering the number of children in these two groups. While white and Negro boys of similar class do not differ in their liking for school, Negro and white girls do. In Class IV, Negro girls like school less than do white girls, but in Class V, Negro girls like school more than do white girls.

Measures of Withdrawal from the School Situation

The results presented heretofore in this chapter all combine in leading us to expect that children of the lower classes will tend to withdraw more from the school situation than children of the higher classes. Two tentative indices of withdrawal--visits to the school nurse and absences from school because of "illness"--have been utilized here.[1] Truancy, of course, would be a more direct sign of withdrawal, but since there was almost no truancy in the middle-class schools, we did not utilize these data.

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[1] Our use of visits to the school nurse as an index of withdrawal is much the weaker of the two. Its use as an index of withdrawal rests on the assumption that individuals experiencing stress in the classroom or, more generally, the school will be more likely (1) to experience reactive complaints, or (2) to enlarge a minor complaint, or (3) to seek out the nurse as a welcome escape from a disagreeable situation or for reassurance. In this sense, visiting the nurse implies less withdrawal than illness absence, for a child remains in the school situation even if secretly hoping perhaps, that the nurse will provide a temporary waiver of responsibilites. The weakness of (Footnote continued on next page)

In the data of Table 7.12 we see the expected pattern of relationship. Children--boys and girls, white and Negro--visited the school nurse more times in a six-month period with a complaint of some sort in the lower than in the higher classes. The proportion of children who didn't visit the school nurse at all during this period decreases for each lower social class group except for the reversal between Class I (42 percent) and Class II (50 percent) white girls. The discrepancy between Class IV (23 percent) and Class V (26 percent) Negro boys is small and based on a smaller number of cases. Nurse visits tend to be more common (data not presented) for boys of Classes III and IV and girls of Class III (but not of Class IV) in middle-class than in working-class schools.[1] Negro boys and girls tended to visit the school nurse (ever went versus never went) more than white boys and girls of the same social class and to do so with greater frequency.

The data of Table 7.13 on the association of children's social class position and their absence from school because of ilness provide little support for the expectation that those of higher classes would withdraw less frequently from school in this way.[2] Those of lower class had low absence rates almost as often as those of higher social class. Negro children, interestingly enough in view of their supposedly higher illness rate, tended to have low illness absence rates more often than white children of the same class.

Summary of Results

Our results indicate that there are pervasive social class-linked differences in school adjustment. Children of higher, more than those of lower, social class tend to find being in school a congenial and rewarding experience. Their school experience is more congenial and rewarding in terms of the significance of the required academic tasks, their competence and sense of adequacy for these tasks, their tolerance of behavioral constraint imposed by school rules, and their broader participation in activities and in formal organizations of the school--all of which are reflected in

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(Footnote continued from preceding page) both measures, of course, lies in the fact that not all complaints or illness absences are reactive to socially-induced stress and the proportion of visits or absences attributable to this form of stress is unknown.

[1] It will be recalled from the introduction to this chapter that social clas comparisons between students in middle- and working-class schools could only be made for Class III and IV children due to the limitation of cases i Classes I, II, and V.

[2] Recording illness absences for a year or two rather than for six months as was done in the present study, might have increased the discriminating powe of this index. These results for the short term cannot be taken to indicate what the longer term results would be.

TABLE 7.12 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes with 0, 1 or 2, or 3 or more visits to school nurse in six month period

Subjects and Visits	Social Class				
	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys					
0	58	55	50	44	38
1 or 2	35	35	38	41	42
3 or more	8	10	12	16	21
Total:	101	100	100	101	101
(No.)	(92)	(238)	(264)	(352)	(72)
Negro boys					
0	-	-	-	23	26
1 or 2	-	-	-	57	46
3 or more	-	-	-	20	29
Total:				100	101
(No.)				(35)	(59)
White girls					
0	42	50	41	42	32
1 or 2	50	40	43	40	47
3 or more	8	10	16	19	20
Total:	100	100	100	101	99
(No.)	(102)	(238)	(269)	(335)	(74)
Negro girls					
0	-	-	-	30	24
1 or 2	-	-	-	30	33
3 or more	-	-	-	39	43
Total:				99	100
(No.)				(46)	(51)

TABLE 7.13 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes who were absent from school one day or less because of illness in second half of school year

	Social Class				
Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	72 (92)	67 (235)	73 (263)	69 (350)	64 (67)
Negro boys	- -	- -	- -	74 (33)	70 (57)
White girls	67 (102)	71 (237)	63 (265)	63 (333)	58 (74)
Negro girls	- -	- -	- -	63 (43)	66 (47)

their greater sense of gratification in the classroom and in school in general, and in the relative absence of tendencies to withdraw from school situations.

For children of relatively higher social class, having higher educational goals which are supported by their parents, the instrumental significance of their current school experience for ultimate objectives is greater than for lower class children. Thus, children of the higher social strata find the constraints and demands of school more acceptable, compliance with rules and regulations less difficult,[1] and justice in school more equitable. Girls more than boys find compliance easy and justice fair despite ultimate goals that are somewhat lower than those of boys.

White children of the lower classes are aware of less competence in their academic tasks from the generally lower grades they earn and they tend to develop a self-image of being poor or inadequate at schoolwork. That this is due to a process of invidious comparison in white schools (for which there is less opportunity in Negro schools) is strongly suggested by the fact that in the all-Negro school where high grades were rare and unfavorable comparisons, therefore, less possible, lower class Negro children had poorer grades than comparable white children but were less likely to feel inadequate. That a sense of adequacy is a consquence of the perceived level of difficulty of school subjects is suggested by the fact that there is no social class difference between children in the number of school subjects they find difficult. Thus, children of lower classes who have poorer grades--and a sense of inadequacy in dealing with difficult subjects derived from invidious self-comparisons with children of the higher classes--are more likely to feel out of place and unhappy in school, and to find it unrewarding.

Children, it seems, question neither the legitimacy of the grades they are awarded nor the fairness and good will of their teachers, for lower class children with predominantly poor grades no more than higher class children with good grades feel rejected by, alienated from, misunderstood by, or discriminated against by their teachers. This remarkable, and, in part, unexpected result suggests that these teachers have been successful in providing an atmosphere of fairness in reward distribution based on uniform standards of achievement rather than on status.[2] They have succeeded, also, in awarding grades without leading children to feel valued for their academic performance alone, for, whatever the modal academic achievement of each social class, children of different classes seem to perceive themselves equally accepted and valued as individuals. This is all the more notable in view of the fact that lower class children tend to recognize their own difficulties in obeying rules and regulations and to have a feeling that they are blamed unfairly for things they didn't do at school.

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[1] Class differences in socialization may be a contributing factor here.

[2] It should be remembered that our sample is drawn from schools in a metropolitan and suburban area--individual schools which furthermore are relatively homogenous with respect to their middle- or working-class composition. In the more differentiated school of a small town where teachers are more sensitive to the social status of their pupils and to pressures from high-status parents, Hollingshead reports that grades were awarded on the basis of performance but that teachers were influenced in favor of higher status students by virtue of their status and the potential or actual influence of their parents. See Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth.

Children of the different social classes are equally well-adjusted in the acceptance thay evoke in the informal society of the school, for children of all classes are regarded as equally desirable as best friend among classmates of their own sex--and we have no reason to expect otherwise. Recognition in the formal organization of the student community, however, that is presumably based on evaluation of prestige and competence by peers differentially favors children of the higher social strata with election to student-council and homeroom offices. In the broader spectrum of extra-curricular activities--sports, clubs and school events--it is again the higher class children who participate more and so gain more of the gratifications, recognition and prestige from both teachers and peers. In the light of the foregoing discussion, it is not an unexpected result that children of the higher social strata are happier in class, like school more, and tend to withdraw less from the school situation for they are more favorably oriented to it.

In conclusion it can be said that the data presented in this chapter are, on the whole, consistent for both boys and girls with the hypothesis of social class differences in school adjustment. Our research, therefore, provides further support for the view that working-class children are more poorly adjusted in school than are children of the higher social strata. As emphasized in the preceding summary, however, one of our findings challenges an integral component of this view, namely the assumption that for various possible reasons teachers are wittingly or unwittingly disposed to discriminate against working-class children in favor of those from families of higher status. Our data, although not conclusive on this point,[1] suggest either that this is not the case, or that if it is children are unaware of it. We find that in this respect, as well as more generally, Negro children's adjustment in school closely parallels that of white boys and girls of Classes IV and V (the upper- and lower-working class, as they are designated in Hollingshead's scheme).

Insofar then as Negro children tend to be maladjusted in the school situation, it is, as with lower class white children, a consequence of conditions associated with the social class position of their families. The most significant factor here may be the lesser instrumental value which working-class children tend to impute to their school experience.[1]

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[1] Because of the finding that there is an association between children's social class position and their reports of whether they sometimes get blamed unfairly at school for things they didn't do. It may be, of course, that the children are here not imputing the unfairness to most of their teachers.

Finally, it can be said that our data have revealed neither striking nor consistent differences between children of the same social level attending schools which differed in their social class composition. As noted earlier, however, this evaluation of children's school adjustment had to be restricted to those of Class III and Class IV (lower-middle and upper-working class). The effect of the school composition might become more evident if comparisons could be made between upper-class children (or upper-middle class children) in a predominantly middle-class school with their counterparts in a working-class school. In the nature of the case, however, this occurs too infrequently to allow for a statistical analysis of its consequences. This can also be said of the study of lower-working class children in a middle-class school since there are few such children available for comparison with their counterparts in a working-class school.

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[1] The data of our study bearing on this assumption have yet to be analyzed.

CHAPTER 8

TEACHER RATINGS OF CHILDREN'S ADJUSTMENT

Teachers' ratings of their students provide another perspective from which to test the hypothesis that children's school adjustment is positively correlated with the social class position of their families. This viewpoint is outside of, and separate from, that provided by students' own reports on various dimensions of their response to the school situation, as presented in the previous chapter.

It will be recalled from Chapter 3 that teachers of eighth-grade English, social studies, mathematics, and physical education classes rated each student in their classes on eighteen dimensions (items); that these ratings were averaged for each student; that the universes of averaged ratings were factor-analyzed separately for boys and girls yielding essentially the same three orthogonal factors for each sex; and that children were assigned individual scores that were indicative of their relative rank within each sex group from favorable to unfavorable on the three factors. Thus, each child was ranked within his or her sex group, according to favorability of adjustment on each of three underlying dimensions of teacher appraisal. Each sex group was then divided into two groups--one favorable, one unfavorable--for each factor, using the mean of the individual scores on that factor as the cutting point.

This chapter presents the data showing the association between children's social class position and the favorability of teachers' ratings of the children on the three factors. We also examined the relationship to social class of a single teacher-rated item having a high correlation with each factor. We do this because the interpretation of three independent dimensions, each defined by the same eighteen initial subdimensions (items) is not always intuitively satisfying. One sample item from each factor, therefore, furnished an aid to interpretation as well as constituting a rough reliability check on the results obtained by the use of over-all scores on that factor.

Finally, we consider whether teachers differentiate between children of the various classes in (1) the certainty they feel about their various appraisals of the children, (2) their feeling that they understand the children relatively well, and (3) their estimates of the favorability of children's home situations.

Factor One

Factor One, which we labeled "well-adjusted," is defined by the presence of relatively high teacher ratings on the items "happy and cheerful"; "self-confident, sure of himself or herself"; "energetic, full of pep"; "popular with other children, one who gets along well with other children";

TABLE 8.1 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls* in various social classes rated positively by teachers on factor 1

	Social Class				
Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	65	60	58	50	52
	(89)	(231)	(256)	(342)	(66)
Negro boys	-	-	-	67	58
	-	-	-	(33)	(57)
White girls	62	64	58	49	36
	(98)	(227)	(253)	(321)	(73)
Negro girls	-	-	-	49	50
	-	-	-	(43)	(48)

*Percentages of boys and girls in parallel cells of the table are not comparable.

TABLE 8.2 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes rated as relatively happy and cheerful

	Social Class				
Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	68	60	59	51	51
	(90)	(236)	(261)	(347)	(67)
Negro boys	-	-	-	49	49
	-	-	-	(33)	(57)
White girls	65	70	60	52	44
	(100)	(230)	(255)	(322)	(73)
Negro girls	-	-	-	42	44
	-	-	-	(43)	(48)

"attractive in appearance and personality"; and good "over-all personality adjustment"--and by relatively low teacher ratings on the items relating to Factors Two and Three.

The data presented in Table 8.1 are consistent with the general hypothesis of this chapter, i.e., that children of the higher social classes are more relatively well-adjusted than those of the lower social classes as their adjustment is rated by teachers. Among white boys the percentages of positive ratings range from 65 percent for boys in Class I down to 52 percent for those in Class V. This association of social class with adjustment is much more evident among white girls, the range of positive rating running from 62 percent in Class I to 36 percent in Class V.

Attesting to the stronger relationship between social class and ratings on Factor One among white girls than among white boys is the fact that the relationship is reflected within each level of school (data not presented), i.e., it appears among girls in middle-class schools (Class IV girls being less well-adjusted than those of Classes I, II and III) as well as among those attending working-class schools (differences appearing in this instance between Classes II, III, IV and V). This is not the case for white boys, there being only slight class-linked differences among boys in middle-class schools, and even here teachers perceive only boys of Class IV as less well-adjusted than those of higher classes.

In considering differences between the two levels of schools among white girls, we note that those of Classes III and IV receive more favorable ratings from teachers in working-class schools than they do from teachers in middle-class schools. Among white boys, teachers in middle-class schools rate Class III boys more positively than do teachers in working-class schools, but among Class IV boys, there is slight indication of more positive ratings in the working-class schools.

Negro boys (in the predominantly all-Negro school) are more likely than their white social class and sex counterparts to be rated by teachers[1] as well-adjusted. Although Negro boys of Class IV are rated more positively than those of Class V, teachers' ratings of Negro girls do not differ by social class (IV compared with V) on Factor One. However, while teachers of Class IV Negro girls rate them as favorably as do teachers of white girls of the same social class, Class V Negro girls are rated more favorably than are white girls of Class V (50 percent versus 36 percent).

As a rough reliability check on the relationship of scores on Factor One to social class and as an aid to simplified interpretation, we chose an item having a high positive correlation with Factor One for separate analysis. The item was, "To what extent is this child usually happy and cheerful? Extremely, very, somewhat, hardly at all, not at all."[1]

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[1] Most of the teachers in the Negro school were white.

The data presented in Table 8.2 exhibit much the same patterning for teachers' ratings on "happy and cheerful" as was evident in the data for Factor One as a whole. Among white boys and girls, those of higher social class are rated more favorably (e.g., boys range from 68 percent in Class I down to 51 percent in Class V and girls range from 65 percent down to 44 percent). Among white girls, those of Class II receive more favorable ratings on both Factor One and the single item. On this single item, "happy and cheerful," Negro boys of Classes IV and V and Negro girls of Class V are rated similarly to their white social class and sex counterparts, unlike their rating on the over-all factor where they were rated more favorably than their counterparts. Again, Class IV Negro girls are less favorably rated on the single item than Class IV white girls (42 percent compared 52 percent) whereas their ratings were similar on the over-all factor.

When considered within each level of school (data not presented), the single item ratings for boys also yielded results somewhat discrepant with those obtained for the over-all ratings on Factor One with respect to the association between social class and favorable ratings. On the single item an association appears within both middle- and working-class schools for both sexes; whereas, it will be recalled, the association on the over-all factor for boys was reflected only slightly in the middle-class schools and not at all within the working-class schools.

Among white boys and girls, between school-level comparisons on the single item, "happy and cheerful," (data not presented) confirm the differences found on the over-all factor for children of Class III and Class IV--namely, that Class III boys are rated more favorably in middle-class schools, and Class IV boys and Class III and IV girls are rated more favorably in working-class schools. Sex differences appeared only within working-class white schools with Class II and III girls being rated as happy more than were boys, the percentages being respectively 65 versus 53 for Class II and 82 versus 64 for Class III.

Finally, the data of Table 8.2 permit between-sex comparisons which were not possible on the over-all factor where only within-sex-group comparisons were legitimate. Among white children, girls are more favorably rated than boys in Class II and less favorably rated in Class V while among Negro children, boys are more favorably rated than girls in Classes IV and V.

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[1] The ratings from two to four teachers were averaged for each child. Only a few children were rated by less than four teachers. Children rated by only one teacher were eliminated from the analysis. Children whose average ratings were above the appropriate median of their sex group were grouped as relatively happy and cheerful and all others as not happy and cheerful.

Factor Two

Factor Two, which we have labeled "aggressive maladjustment," is defined by the presence of relatively high teacher ratings on the items, "mad at the world, one with a chip on the shoulder"; "one who teases and makes fun of others"; "quarrelsome with other children"; and "a discipline problem"--and by relatively low teacher ratings on the items correlating highly with Factor One and Factor Three.

The data of Table 8.3 are consistent with our general hypothesis (that the higher the social class of the child the more likely that teachers will rate a child as not being relatively aggressive-maladjusted) only for girls who range from 70 percent favorable ratings in Class I down to 52 percent in Class V (and to 35 percent favorable ratings among Class V Negro girls). Social class differences fail to appear among white boys and there is even slight reversal from expected results among Negro boys with Class V boys being more favorably rated than Class IV boys (54 percent versus 48 percent).

The same results were obtained when we examined the relationship of social class and Factor Two within middle-class schools and within working-class schools (data not presented here). For white boys, only a very slight association was found within working-class schools and none at all within middle-class schools; while the association of social class of child with favorable teacher ratings on Factor Two appeared within both school levels for white girls. Furthermore, white boys of Class III were rated slightly more favorably by teachers in working-class than in middle-class schools (55 percent versus 47 percent). This difference was greater for white boys in Class IV (55 percent versus 43 percent). Among white girls, no difference appeared between school levels for Class III or Class IV girls.

In the case of Factor Two we selected teachers' responses to the item, "To what extent is this child usually a discipline problem? Extremely, very, somewhat, hardly at all, not at all," for our reliability check and as an interpretative aid.[1] Table 8.4 shows that white boys of relatively lower class are more often regarded as discipline problems (6 percent in Class I increasing to 25 percent in Class V). Only white girls of Class V compared with those of all higher classes, however, are more often regarded as problems. Thus, we found the social class adjustment relationship for girls but not for boys in Factor Two, but found the social class-discipline problem relationship for boys and not for girls.

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[1] The ratings of from two to four teachers were averaged. Children who were rated as "very much" a discipline problem by two or more teachers or who were rated as "somewhat" of a discipline problem by three or four teachers are treated in our analysis as being a discipline problem. Hindsight has led us to the conclusion that this item could well have been omitted from the factor-analysis--and thus from Factor Two--since it represents a level of teacher appraisal not coordinate with the other items. It involves judgments of children in relation to school demands, a judgement which is different from the judgement involved in the other items.

TABLE 8.3 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls* in various social classes rated favorably by teachers on factor 2

Subjects	Social Class I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	52 (89)	47 (231)	50 (256)	51 (342)	50 (66)
Negro boys	- -	- -	- -	48 (33)	54 (57)
White girls	70 (98)	67 (227)	61 (253)	51 (321)	52 (73)
Negro girls	- -	- -	- -	47 (43)	35 (48)

*Percentages of boys and girls in parallel cells of the table are not comparable.

TABLE 8.4 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes rated by teachers as discipline problems

Subjects	Social Class I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	6 (90)	18 (235)	18 (261)	21 (346)	25 (67)
Negro boys	- -	- -	- -	9 (33)	7 (57)
White girls	4 (100)	3 (229)	4 (253)	6 (322)	14 (73)
Negro girls	- -	- -	- -	9 (43)	21 (48)

Analysis of the social class-discipline problem relationship within each level of school (data not presented), revealed that the relationship found for all white boys taken together was reflected in each level of school, while the absence of the relationship observed for all white girls taken together also obtained for each level of school. For white boys of Classes III and IV between school differences in being a discipline problem, like scores on over-all Factor Two, favored those in working-class schools, these boys being less likely to be regarded as discipline problems by their teachers than those in middle-class schools. For white girls of Classes III and IV, as with ratings on the over-all factor, there were no differences between girls in the two groups of schools in the likelihood of being regarded as discipline problems.

Sex differences in being regarded as a discipline problem by teachers also appear in Table 8.4, white boys more than white girls at each social class level being considered problems. Among Negro children, only Class V girls are considered problems more often than are Class V boys (21 percent versus 7 percent).

Negro boys of Classes IV and V, it is interesting to note, are less likely to be regarded as discipline problems by teachers in a predominantly Negro school than are their white counterparts in all-white schools; whereas Negro girls of Class V, at least, are considered to be discipline problems more than white girls of Class V in all-white schools. Racial comparisons for boys and girls thus show similar patterns in regard to Factor Two and the single item, "discipline problem."

Factor Three

Factor Three, which we have labeled "withdrawn-maladjustment," is defined by relatively high teacher ratings on the item, "easily discouraged"; "one who feels inferior or inadequate"; "withdrawn, depressed, in low spirits"; "one whose feelings are easily hurt"; and "timid, shy"--and by relatively low teacher ratings on items correlating highly with Factors One and Two.

The data of Table 8.5 do not provide any indication that teachers' ratings on Factor Three are linked to the social class status of either boys or girls when all white children are grouped by sex irrespective of the social class composition of their schools. When we analyzed the relation of social class to scores on Factor Three within each of the two levels of white schools (data not presented) the results were as follows: boys of Class I, in contrast to boys of Class II, III and IV were less likely to be rated as withdrawn-maladjusted by teachers in middle-class schools (the percentages of positive ratings from Classes I to IV respectively being 56, 47, 43, 45), while no relationship appeared in working-class schools. The relationship appeared for girls in working-class schools (the percentages of positive ratings from Class II to Class V respectively being 79, 65, 54, 50), but the relationship did not appear among girls in middle-class schools.

TABLE 8.5 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls* in various social classes rated favorably by teachers on factor 3

	Social Class				
Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	57 (89)	50 (231)	50 (256)	51 (342)	52 (66)
Negro boys	- -	- -	- -	33 (33)	51 (57)
White girls	50 (98)	51 (227)	53 (253)	53 (321)	48 (73)
Negro girls	- -	- -	- -	35 (43)	50 (48)

*Percentages of boys and girls in parallel cells of the table are not comparable.

TABLE 8.6 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes about whose personality ratings teachers are relatively certain

	Social Class				
Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	66 (90)	66 (235)	64 (261)	66 (347)	74 (67)
Negro boys	- -	- -	- -	79 (33)	74 (57)
White girls	65 (100)	64 (230)	55 (253)	55 (321)	55 (73)
Negro girls	- -	- -	- -	74 (43)	63 (48)

When we examined social class differences on Factor Three between the two levels of white schools we found that boys of Class III and IV and girls of Class III were less likely to be rated as withdrawn-maladjusted by teachers in working-class schools than by teachers in middle-class schools. The percentages of positive ratings for middle-class as compared to working-class schools were, respectively, 43 versus 61 for Class III boys, 45 versus 65 for Class III girls, and 45 versus 54 for Class IV boys. Racial differences exhibited in the data of Table 8.5 show that Negro boys and girls of Class IV are more likely to be rated as withdrawn-maladjusted than comparable white children, while there are no differences between Negro and white children of Class V.

The single item selected to provide a rough reliability check for the over-all Factor Three and as an interpretive aid was "To what extent is this child usually anxious or tense? Extremely, very, somewhat, hardly at all, not at all."[1]

The results of the analysis using this single item (data not presented) are in general consistent with those obtained in the analysis employing the over-all factor ratings, as ratings on "anxious or tense" were not class-linked for either sex group as a whole. There were no class-linked differences in anxiety ratings within middle-class white schools for either sex, but teachers in working-class white schools rated children of both sexes as less anxious in the higher than in the lower classes. Between school differences for children of Classes III and IV were evident only for girls of Class III, those in working-class schools being rated less anxious than girls in middle-class schools (respectively, 80 percent versus 60 percent).

Certainty of Teachers' Appraisals

The degree of certainty teachers feel about ratings they make of students undoubtedly varies with a number of conditions, such as opportunity to observe the child, visibility of the child's behavior, size of classes, amount of interaction with child in and out of class, sex of teacher[2] and of child, and so forth. Among these conditions are differences in values, norms, attitudes and behavior that may exist between teacher and students. Assuming that values, norms, attitudes and behavior tend to be class-linked, and that these differ most between middle-class teachers and working-class students, it would be expected that teachers would feel more certain about their ratings of middle-class children and would feel they understand them better than they do working-class children.

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[1] The ratings of two to four teachers were averaged. All but a few children were rated by four teachers. The few children rated by only one teacher were not included in the analysis. In the analysis of the data children with average ratings on "anxiety" below the median of their sex group were treated as favorable and all others as unfavorable.

[2] We have not yet analyzed the teacher ratings while controlling for the sex of the teacher.

TABLE 8.7 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes whom teachers report they understand relatively well

	Social Class				
Subjects	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys	66 (90)	62 (236)	60 (261)	64 (347)	66 (67)
Negro boys	- -	- -	- -	88 (33)	77 (57)
White girls	69 (100)	67 (230)	61 (255)	56 (322)	53 (73)
Negro girls	- -	- -	- -	70 (43)	75 (48)

The results (Table 8.6) are negative with respect to white boys, for teachers feel equally certain of their appraisals of children in each social class. There is even some evidence that they feel more certain of their ratings of Class V boys than of those of higher classes. The picture is different for white girls, since teachers tend to feel slightly more certain of their ratings of Class I and II children than of those of the lower classes. When we compare teachers' certainty of their ratings of white boys and girls, we find they are less certain of their ratings of girls in the three lower classes than they are of their ratings of boys.

Teachers in the Negro school are more certain of their ratings of Class IV Negro boys and of Class IV and V girls than are teachers in the white schools of their ratings of comparable children. Teachers of the Negro children are also more confident of their ratings of boys than of girls.

Analysis of the data of Table 8.6 within middle-class and within working-class white schools (data not presented here) confirms the presence of social class differentials in certainty within each level of school for the girls and their absence in each level of school for the boys. Teachers in working-class schools, however, are more confident of their ratings of boys than are teachers in middle-class schools, the percentages being, respectively, 79 versus 64 in Class II, 73 versus 59 in Class III, and 69 versus 59 in Class IV. There were no differences between schools for white girls.

We have no ready explanation to account for the negative results for boys or for the sex and race differentials that run counter to our expectations. It is possible that our broad characterization of teachers as middle-class (based on their present occupation) fails to do justice to real differences in values, attitudes, and norms that exist between teachers, for these may depend on their class of origin. (Information on teachers' class of origin was, unfortunately, not available for the analysis.) It is also possible that another process is operating--namely, that teachers are more confident of their ratings when they are clearer about what to expect of children, for their judgments are then made against a relatively precise criterion. If this be assumed, our results would suggest that teachers have clearer role expectations for boys than for girls in the lower classes, and clearer expectations or stereotypes of lower class Negroes than of lower class whites.

Teachers' "Understanding" of Children

As with teachers' feelings of certainty about their ratings of children of different social classes, it was expected that the degree to which teachers feel they understand children (in the sense of knowing why they act as they do) would be greater the more similar teachers and children were in norms, attitudes, and values. Middle-class teachers, it was anticipated, would feel understanding of middle-class children's motivation.

The data on teachers' understanding, as presented in Table 8.7, yield results which were very much akin to those for the data on teachers' rating certainty. There are no social class differences in teacher understanding among _white boys_ and _Negro girls_, while differences do appear for the _Negro boys_ and _white girls_. Racial differences indicate greater teacher understanding of Negro than of white children of Classes IV and V.

Re-analysis of Table 8.7 controlling for social class level of school (data not presented here) showed a moderate association of social class of child with teacher understanding of boys in middle-class schools (the percentages from Class I to Class IV, respectively being 63, 59, 55, 47). No association, however, was found in white working-class schools. The association of social class of child and teacher understanding of _white girls_ appeared in each level of school, the percentages of teachers understanding girls relatively well in Class I to Class IV in middle-class schools being 68, 65, 62, 48; and in Class II to Class V in working-class schools being 79, 60, 59, 55. Teachers in white working-class schools felt more understanding than teachers in middle-class schools of boys of Classes III and IV (the percentages, respectively, being 68 _versus_ 55, and 71 _versus_ 47), and of girls of Class IV (the percentages being, respectively, 59 _versus_ 48).

Children's Home Situation

It was to be expected that teachers would judge relatively higher class homes to be more favorable than lower class homes in responses to the question, "To the best of your knowledge how good is this child's home situation?"

The results presented in Table 8.8[1] are fully consistent with this expectation among _white boys and girls_. The results are ambiguous for _Negro boys and girls_ because only a few children received ratings of their homes. These results were reflected within both middle-class and working-class schools.

Sex differences will be noted in the distribution of ratings by social class, girls' homes being rated as "good" an average of 20 percent more often than boys' homes (eliminating social class as a control the sex difference is only an average of 7 percent). Again, controlling on social class, boys' homes are rated as "poor" an average of 10 percent more often than are girls' homes (the difference being only 6 percent when ratings of all white boys and all white girls are compared without controlling on social class). We can suggest no explanation for this

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[1] It will be noted that the number of children whose home situation is rated by two or more teachers is sharply reduced from the number of children for whom ratings are reported in preceeding tables. This is because many teachers stated they had insufficient knowledge about a child's home to judge it. By the same token, teachers who did rate homes presumably were operating with information they regarded as adequate for the rating.

TABLE 8.8 -- Percentages of white and Negro boys and girls in various social classes whose home situation is rated by teachers as good, average or poor

Subjects and Rating	Social Class				
	I	II	III	IV	V
White boys					
Good	33	25	16	9	10
Average	58	48	53	55	30
Poor	8	27	31	36	60
Total:	99	100	100	100	100
(No.)	(60)	(152)	(181)	(229)	(40)
Negro boys					
Good	-	-	-	0	4
Average	-	-	-	27	36
Poor	-	-	-	73	61
Total:				100	101
(No.)				(15)	(28)
White girls					
Good	36	36	30	13	4
Average	49	47	52	51	55
Poor	15	18	18	36	41
Total:	100	101	100	100	100
(No.)	(79)	(176)	(180)	(230)	(51)
Negro girls					
Good	-	-	-	16	11
Average	-	-	-	26	28
Poor	-	-	-	58	61
Total:				100	100
(No.)				(19)	(18)

other than that teachers vary in their conceptions of either (1) what constitutes a "good" or a "poor" home situation for boys as compared with girls, or (2) as to which sex is more sensitive to the impact of a favorable or unfavorable home situation.

Summary and Discussion

We have seen in Chapter 7 that pervasive social class-linked differences in school adjustment appear in students' own reports of their attitudes toward school, their sense of gratification and of academic competence, and of their involvement in,and commitment to, school tasks and activities: in these respects children of higher social class find school more congenial and rewarding than lower class children.

In the present chapter we have viewed the question of social class adjustment differences through the medium of conjoint teacher appraisals[1] of students' adjustment--a perspective separate from and independent of students' own reports. Do teachers systematically perceive higher class children as better adjusted than lower class children, and, in so doing, demonstrate rough agreement with the indices of adjustment yielded by self-reports of students? Do teachers perceive as least well-adjusted students in the lower classes where modal values, attitudes and behavior differ most from the assumed modal values, attitudes and behavior of middle-class teachers?

The results of our analysis of Factor One do affirm that teachers perceive the adjustment of higher class children in more favorable terms than they do the adjustment of lower class children--although the modal differences between class levels are not large. This was further confirmed by the results of teachers' judgments on the single trait "happy and cheerful." These results hold for white and Negro boys and girls, but teachers' ratings on adjustment and on "cheerfulness" did not discriminate between Class IV and Class V Negro girls. Unexpectedly, the teacher adjustment ratings (Factor One) of the working-class (Class IV and V) Negro boys were more favorable than those of working-class white boys, just as the ratings of Class IV (but not Class V) Negro girls were more favorable than those of white girls of the same class. Racial differences in "cheerfulness" were apparent only for Class IV girls among whom white girls were seen by teachers as more cheerful. Sex differences on the single trait, "cheerfulness", appeared only in that teachers perceive Negro boys to be more cheerful than Negro girls. Furthermore, as expected, teachers rate higher class homes and those of white children as more favorable environments for the development of a well adjusted child than lower class homes or those of Negro children. Thus, it appears that the class-linked differences in adjustment revealed in students' own reports are paralleled by the results obtained from independent teacher appraisals of adjustment.

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[1] The prior question, of course, is whether teachers as a group demonstrate in their appraisals that there is order and coherence in the structure of their ratings of students' adjustment. This question has been affirmatively answered in Chapter 3.

Our results, however, are equivocal with respect to the social class hypothesis when we consider teachers' judgments on the two component dimensions of children's maladjustment--namely, that of aggression (Factor Two) and withdrawal (Factor Three). Teacher judgment discriminated between children of the different social classes on the over-all aggression factor only among white and Negro girls. On the subdimension of this factor, "discipline problem," teachers discriminated between social class levels only among the boys. On Factor Two teachers, it appears, perceive lower class white and Negro girls as more generally aggressive or burdened with hostility (quarrelsome, teasing, mad at the world) than they do higher class girls, but they see lower class boys as no more aggressive in this sense than higher class boys. Here, it is Negro girls of Class V who are perceived most unfavorably by teachers. When it comes to disruptiveness, however, the shoe is on the other foot, for teachers rate lower class white boys as more overtly disruptive (discipline problems) than they do upper class white boys, but white girls were not discriminated by class on disruptiveness. White boys generally appeared to teachers to be discipline problems more than girls. Interesting and unexpected racial differences appeared in the teachers' ratings of the children as discipline problems. The Negro boys of Classes IV and V (working class) were considered less disruptive by their teachers than were the white boys of these two classes. Among girls of Classes IV and V, Negro girls of Class V were considered disciplinary problems more than white girls of the same class--and Class V Negro girls were also seen as more disruptive than Negro boys of the same class. As with their appraisals on the over-all Factor Two, teachers' ratings on discipline problems discriminated between Class IV and V Negro girls, but not Negro boys.

There is rough agreement in regard to sex differences between teacher ratings on "discipline problem" and students' self-reports on the question "I sometimes find it difficult to obey school rules and regulations". White and Negro boys report greater difficulty with rules than do girls, and white boys are more often than white girls rated as being disciplinary problems. Negro boys report difficulty with rules as much as white boys and Negro girls, but are considered less disruptive. Since there were social class differences among both sexes in self-reports of difficulty with rules, while teacher ratings discriminated between the social classes on discipline problems only for white boys and Negro girls, there is only partial agreement between teachers and students on rule compliance.

It may be that the class-linked difficulties in obeying rules that appear in the self-reports of both sexes are expressed differently by each sex. Boys may express such difficulties directly in rule violation and overt rebelliousness whereas girls may express these problems in different forms. Girls may express their antagonisms and lesser difficulties with rules by utilizing opportunities to be absent from school for "legitimate" reasons such as illness. (It will be recalled from Chapter 7 that among girls, but not among boys, absences due to "illness" were class-linked.) While these speculations may be consistent with the results for white children, they do not easily fit the results for Negroes. Given the smallness of the Negro sample, however, speculation about detailed results for this group is unwarranted. Again, it may be noted, sex differences among white children, at least, in teachers' ratings of the favorability of children's home situations parallel sex differences in their ratings of children's discipline problems. Boys are rated as greater discipline problems, a perception that may have influenced teachers to lower their estimates of the boys' home as compared to homes of girls who were seen as less openly disruptive.

The results with respect to the second component dimension of maladjustment (Factor Three), withdrawal, and with respect to the subdimension of tension and anxiety fail to support the social class hypothesis that higher class children would tend to withdraw more than lower class children. To teachers, at least, children in the different social classes appear equally withdrawn, insecure and anxious. Class IV Negro children of both sexes appear more withdrawn than do white children of the same class.

The hypothesis that teachers' feelings of rating certainty and of understanding the motivation underlying children's behavior would diminish as social and cultural distance between teacher and child increases receives relatively slight confirmation. Teachers, assumed to be middle class in values, attitudes and conceptual tools, felt less certain of their judgment and felt less understanding of the motivations of lower class girls than of higher class girls. Among boys, social and cultural distance did not influence teachers' certainty and understanding. As to racial differences, teachers reported greater certainty and understanding of Negro than of white children.[1]

In recapitulation, teachers systematically perceive higher class children more favorably than lower class children of both races on the dimension of general adjustment. When it comes to dimension of aggression or hostility, and of withdrawal, however, teachers see higher class girls as less aggressive and hostile than relatively lower class girls, but there is no evidence in their ratings of systematic social class differences in aggressiveness among boys or in withdrawal for either sex. Presumed class-linked cultural differences between teachers and students operated to diminish teachers' sense of understanding only among girls of the lower classes and not among boys. Sex and race differences generally indicate that teachers feel more certain of their judgments and more understanding of the behavior of boys than of girls and of Negroes than of whites.

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[1] This clearly contradicts our hypothesis. Although we may take this racial difference at face value, these results would also be consistent with the operation of racial stereotyping of Negro children on the part of teachers. Further, it might be that teachers find too facil and ready an explanation in the host of manifest problems faced by Negroes (poor housing and unemployment and family disorganization and the high incidence of welfare dependency, minimal education and so forth) that appear so overwhelming in their impact on Negro children, and thus more easily reach a sense of certainty and understanding for these children.

As in the case of children's self-reports of their adjustment in school, it can be said that Negro and white children of comparable social class background (IV and V) do not differ significantly from the perspective of the teachers ratings.[1] This is particularly true of the boys of Class V whose ratings were very similar, with the one exception that a substantially lower proportion of Negroes in this group were rated as discipline problems. This difference was also found between Negro and white boys of Class IV. The latter, however, received more favorable ratings than the former on Factor Three (maladjusted-withdrawn). Comparison of the ratings of Negro and white girls in Class IV reveals only one rather large difference; Negro girls--like the boys--are less favorably rated on Factor Three. This racial difference also appears among Negro and white girls in Class V. White girls of Class V are also rated more favorably on Factor Two (aggressive-maladjustment).

The ratings Class III and Class IV children in the white middle- and working-class schools give some indication that boys in these strata may be more favorably perceived by teachers in the latter type of school. This is also true for girls, but to a lesser extent, in that the difference favoring those in working-class schools appears only in the ratings on Factor One (well-adjusted) and in the ratings on the single item from this factor ("happy and cheerful").

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[1] It should be remembered that they were being rated by the teachers of their respective schools who may have used different standards in the ratings of the children.

CHAPTER 9

EVALUATION OF THE DATA OF THE STUDY

In Chapters 4-8 we have presented the findings of our research. It is a truism that the acceptability of the results of any scientific study is in large part a function of the quality of the data from which they derive. Before proceding to Chapter 10 in which we summarize the findings and conclusions, it is, therefore, appropriate that we attempt to appraise our data, assessing their strengths and weaknessess, for purposes of arriving at some judgment of how much confidence can be placed in the findings to which they led.

We first consider the data involved in the test of the hypothesis that school type exercises an independent influence on children's educational aspiration. We then take up the data concerning social class differences in school adjustment. This discussion of specific data is preceded by some observations on the conditions under which the study questionnaires--which were the source of most of our data--were administered to the children.

Questionnaire Administration

The questionnaires were filled out by the students during two regular class hours. In most instances they were administered by their English and social studies teachers. The task was accomplished during the final week of the school year after examinations had been completed. Neither teachers nor students had any reason to regard the questionnaire periods as an undesirable interference with their normal routine.

Teachers met as a group with the senior investigator a week or two before the questionnaires were to be given to their classes. They were informed about the research in a very general way but were given no indication of the hypotheses under study. Their cooperation was invited largely on the ground that teachers and students stood to gain from any increase in scientific knowledge about adolescents and their view of school and of themselves. Teachers were asked to read a prepared explanatory statement to the class[1] and emphatically requested to refrain from making any remarks about the research or otherwise intruding as uncontrolled influences in the data-gathering situation. Most of the teachers were interested and cooperative and it can be assumed they followed the instructions given them.[1]

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[1] A copy of the text read by teachers to their classes can be found in Appendix B.

The questionnaires could hardly fail to be inherently interesting to most students since they provided an opportunity for self-inventory in important dimensions of their lives. Participation in the study was not defined as a school activity and in view of the ostensible anonymity of the questionnaires the subjects were presumably in a position to fill them out free of test anxiety and without concern with being judged for what they wrote.

Some indication of the seriousness of the respondents is the number and character of their unsolicited written comments on the two questionnaires. Facetious comments were to be expected from adolescents filling out questionnaires in the company of peers. Negative attitudes to teachers or school in general could have been easily expressed in a few well-chosen words.

A count of the remarks (a word, phrase or sentence) on the two questionnaires (totalling 16 pages) showed they were made by 9 percent of the boys and 10 percent of the girls.[2] The great majority of these children wrote only a single comment. More significant, however, is the fact that most of the remarks were for purposes of clarifying or elaborating a response to some item. A few children said "none of your damn business" (or words to that effect) to the question asking for father's occupation, and some gave a facetious reply to this or other questions. In all, the evidence of the unsolicited comments supports the assumption that the questionnaires were taken seriously by the respondents. Consistent with this conclusion is the fact, shortly to be discussed, that the questionnaire items having the greatest number of non-responses were those asking for factual information (parents' occupation and education) rather than those relating to respondents' attitudes and feelings. For example, only five percent of the boys and four percent of the girls failed to answer all six questions by which their LOA was determined.

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[1] A graduate student assistant informed us, however, that in one of the seven schools of the study a few teachers complained that they had not been sufficiently briefed about the research, that they should have been given copies of the questionnaires in advance of administering them, etc. This dissatisfaction could have communicated itself to their classes and to an indeterminate degree influenced responses to some of the questionnaire items. This is one of the risks entailed in having questionnaires administered by a large number of persons who are not more or less directly implicated in the research. A number of considerations precluded our having any choice about this procedure.

[2] In the case of the boys a comment was written in by 12 percent of those in the middle-class schools and 7 percent of those in the working-class schools. The corresponding percentages for girls were 15 and 5.

Children's Reports of Their Aspirations

Our test of the hypothesis of influence of school type on children's aspirations utilized two criteria of aspirations. These were: (1) their educational goal, ie., their responses to the question of how far they wanted to go in school, and (2) their LOA, ie., their responses to the foregoing question combined with their scores on a six-item scale measuring the intensity of their desire to go to college. Our purpose here is to review the argument and evidence for the assumption that, in general, the subjects of our study were correctly differentiated with respect to their educational goal and LOA.

Persons, whether they be adults or adolescents, can be considered the most reliable witnesses to their own values, goals or aspirations. As scientific data, however, the accuracy of their testimony cannot be taken for granted. In the case of our subjects two questions must be weighed, namely, (1) are eighth graders aware of their educational goals and aspirations, and, if they are, (2) is there any reason for their not reporting them correctly in a supposedly anonymous questionnaire administered in regularly scheduled school classes.

With respect to the first question it might be asserted that children at the end of the eighth grade are not yet clear in their own minds just how far they wish to go in their schooling. This may be true for a small percentage of children who have mixed feelings about school, are dubious about their aptitude for higher education or are ambivalent about their desire for it. Such children may even not know whether they want to finish high school, to say nothing of having made up their minds about whether they want to go to college. The educational aspiration of these children may well be incorrectly identified by their responses to a single questionnaire item.[1] The probability of this occurring should be reduced, however, when the measure of their aspiration--the LOA of the present study--considers not only how far they want to go in school but also how intensely they desire to go to college. This measure also yields a more refined and perhaps more valid[2] differentiation of the aspiration of the great majority of boys and girls who may be presumed[1] to be aware of what they want to do.

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[1] Particularly if "don't know" is not one of the response categories to the item. It is usually omitted to encourage a forced-choice of one of the other responses, but the forced-choice may be no more than a guess.

[2] Other things being equal we would hypothesize that children's LOA is more predictive than their educational goal alone, of ultimate attendance at college.

We make this assumption about the majority of children because we think it likely that by the end of their eighth grade they would have been confronted with and had their educational prospects and possibilities discussed and defined for them by teachers, counsellors and parents. It seems probable that these experiences, in conjunction with children's more or less independent views of what they would like to do, would eventuate for most of them in a rather firm conception of their level of aspiration.

If it be granted that children can report their educational aspirations there remains for consideration the question of whether some children misrepresent them to the investigator. There is no apparent reason for thinking children would report their aspirations as lower than they are but it could be argued that some children might be moved to report higher aspirations in order to represent themselves more favorably.[2] This might be done by children in an interview with an individual, identified as in some sense linked with higher education. Children may be less disposed to do so, however, in asnwering an ostensibly anonymous questionnaire, as in the present study. But the questionnaire, notwithstanding, some children may still have been moved to misrepresent their aspiration. To the extent that they did, our suspicion would be that it was more often done by working-class children in middle-class schools. These children would be less likely to have the higher aspirations and, yet, possibly be influenced by the atmosphere of the school to report that they did. At least they may have been influenced to report a high educational goal. This could explain--as suggested in an earlier chapter--the finding for boys of the study that, regardless of their home background, a slightly larger proportion of those in middle-class schools than of those in working-class schools reported their goal to be four or more years of college. This difference was not found for girls. If the explanation advanced for boys is valid, the absence of the school-type difference among girls may perhaps indicate that, college graduation being less salient to the latter's future, they are less disposed than the former to present themselves as desiring a college education. Because of the saliency difference the sex difference with respect to school influence could also possibly be a true difference.

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[1] This presumption for the majority of children at the grade level we have studied--like the contrary assumption for the minority referred to above--warrants empirical investigation, as a problem in its own right. It bears on the important question of the age by which children have some clarity about their long-range goals and aspirations and the related question of their stability.

[2] At issue here is the influence of a social-desirability response set. See Allen L. Edwards, The Social Desirability Variable in Personality Assessment and Research, Dryden Press, New York, 1957.

One type of test that can be made of the validlity of the LOA data is to observe whether children's LOA's are predictive of variables with which they would be expected to be associated. One such variable is children's grades since grades both influence, and are influenced, by academic aspirations. Analysis of the data (not given here) shows a close association between grades and LOA among working-class and middle-class children, within working-class and middle-class schools.

LOA's, if valid, would also be expected to co-vary with children's family background as objectively measured by occupation and education of the family head. Again, the expected association appears for boys and girls within both categories of schools. The higher the social class of families the higher (consistently) is the proportion of children with a high LOA. It might be objected that in part this correlation is reflecting a tendency for children of higher social classes to give the socially-desirable response in answering questions about their educational aspirations. If this response-set were operative with these questions it would be anticipated that some indication of its influence would be apparent in children's answers to other questions having unequivocally socially correct and approved answers. A prime example of such questions are those asking children about the favorability of their relations with their parents, the questions constituting what we have called the helpfulness and esteem scales.[1] Comparison of the scale scores of working-class and middle-class children on maternal and paternal helpfulness and esteem (data not given) revealed only one difference of any significance. Middle-class boys tended to score more favorably on the fathers' helpfulness scale. This reported perception of working-class fathers as less psychologically helpful than middle-class fathers could reflect a true difference rather than the operation of a social-desirability response set. To conclude otherwise would leave unexplained why no difference appears in the other three comparisons.

Children's Reports of Parents Aspirations

The questions raised about children's reports of their own aspirations can also be raised about their reports of their fathers' and mothers' aspirations for them. First, do they know their parents' aspirations, and second, if they know them do they report them correctly.

Our data were collected from children in the final week of their eighth grade in school and it seems very probable that, by this stage of their education, parents' aspirations would be known to the great majority of boys and girls. Parents are certainly not secretive--with their children, at least--about what they would like them to do and how much education they want them to have. It seems likely, therefore, that there would be only a few adolescents who would not have been made aware by word or deed of their parents' aspirations for them. A small number of parents may merely give lipservice to the desirability of higher education for their sons or daughters but children are not easily deceived by such verbal misrepresentation. Somewhat more problematic is the case of parents, who may communicate to their children some indication of uncertainty as to how much schooling they want them to have. This uncertainty may be a product of parents ambivalence about the value of higher education in general, or for their children in particular. How many parents there are is an empirical question. Unfortunately, our data on parents' aspirations were elicited by only one question for father and another for mother and the fixed response categories did not permit respondents to report their estimates of the certainty or intensity with which parental aspirations were held. This is a major limitation in the measurement of parental aspirations and we would recommend the use of a multi-item scale in future research involving this variable.

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[1] See Chapter 3.

Whether children, in fact, do have clear knowledge of their parents' aspiration is a question which deserves study. At this point the assumption that most do rests largelyon speculative grounds. But even if the assumption is sound there is still the question of whether children report their parents' aspirations correctly in the questionnaire situation. It might be supposed that most children do, although two classes of possible exceptions suggest themselves. As suggested earlier, there may be some children who are moved to report their aspirations as higher than in fact they are, thereby presenting themselves in what they consider to be a more favorable light. Children disposed to do this in stating their own aspirations may be disposed to act likewise in registering their parents' aspiration. To the extent that this occurs, it may be presumed that it is more likely to happen with working-class children in a middle-class school where they may feel that they picture their parents more favorably if they represent them as having high educational aspirations for their children. Some of the children of the relatively few middle-class parents with low aspirations may similarly be induced by the atmosphere of the middle-class school to exaggerate their parents' aspirations for them. If our speculation is correct both groups of children referred to here could account, in part for the finding that, regardless of their educational level, parents of children in middle-class schools tend to have higher aspirations ascribed to them than parents of children in working-class schools.

A second class of respondents who may contribute error to our measurement of parents' aspirations are children both in middle-class and working-class schools whose aspirations are not in accord with those of their parents. Given close and amicable relations with their parents, children with high or low aspirations which are not shared by their parents may be under some constraint to represent their parents aspirations as congruent with their own.[1] This could account for a little of the association found between the favorability of children's perceptions of their parents and parent-child concordance of aspirations. If there was a disposition on the part of some children, to report their parents' aspirations as similar to their own, it may have been counteracted to some extent by the placement of the items in the questionnaire. The child's own aspiration was asked for on page 1 of the first of two questionnaires, mother's aspiration was asked for on page 7 of the same questionnaire and father's on page 7 of the second questionnaire, which was filled out some hours later on--and in some schools--the following day. The wide separation of the items on mother's and father's aspiration may also have served to weaken an impulse, which some children may experience, to represent their two parents as being in agreement and, accordingly, to report the same aspirations for them.

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[1] In so doing they momentarily, at least, reduce the discomfort engendered by the thought that they are disagreeing on something important with parents whom they like, respect and admire. Under the circumstances, it is conceivable that some children may even misperceive their parents' aspirations.

It hardly need be said that we cannot determine the amount of error, if any, which the classes of children considered above may have contributed to the data on parental aspirations. We can, however, cite some evidence from the present study, and others, which adds to our confidence in these data.

First, there is ample basis in past research in which the parents were the informants for the proposition that the value placed by parents on formal education for their children is positively correlated with their social class position as indexed by their educational level and other measures.[1] The fact that we find that, as reported by their children, fathers' and mothers' aspirations (for sons and daughters in middle-class and working-class schools) tend to co-vary with fathers' and mothers' educational level (Table 4.11) supports the assumption that children's reports are, on the whole, rather accurate.

Other evidence arguing for the soundness of the data on parental aspirations is the consistent relation found in our research between the grades obtained by boys and girls and their fathers' aspirations for them. (See Chapter 5). Since children's grades can be assumed to have some influence on their parents' aspirations--and the aspirations to have some effect on grades--the correlation increases our confidence in the data on parental aspirations.

Finally mention may be made of a relevant finding in Fleming's study of a large sample of Canadian high-school seniors. The finding was that the judgments of teachers "...about the influence of the home on the student's inclination to attend university corresponded fairly closely to student reports of parental attitudes."[2]

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[1] See, Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value System of Different Classes," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, (Eds.), Class, Status and Power, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953, pp.429-431. See too, W.G. Fleming, Background and Personality Factors Associated With Educational and Occupational Plans and Careers of Ontario Grade 13 Students, Department of Educational Research, Ontario College of Education, University of Toronto, 1957, p.10.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p.14.

Data on Education, Occupation and Social Class

Few sociological or social-psychological studies do not for one reason or another require data on the education and occupation of their subjects or of their subjects' parents. In our research this information was needed for the parents, the data on occupation and education of the family head being used both separately and in combination.

The data were asked for in the questionnaires and two supplementary sources[1] were used to obtain the information on occupation. The major source, however, was the questionnaires and unfortunately a large proportion of the childern--particularly those in the working-class schools--did not answer the quesions relating to father's occupation and father's and mother's education. In the end, information was obtained on father's occupation for 65 percent of the boys in the working-class schools and 86 percent of those in the middle-class schools. The corresponding percentages for girls were 64 and 93. Information on fathers' education was available for 67 percent of the boys in the working-class schools and for 83 percent in the middle-class schools, the comparable percentages for girls being 66 and 84. Data on mother's education was secured for 64 percent of the boys in working-class schools and for 83 percent in the middle-class schools. The corresponding percentages for girls were 62 and 89.

It is interesting to note that the difference between the working- and middle-class schools in the completeness of obtained data about parents closely parallels the percentages of children in the two types of schools who were from intact families.[2] For boys the percentages were 63 (working-class schools) and 81 (middle-class schools). The comparable percentages for girls were 62 and 76.

Our material has not been analyzed to determine whether the incompleteness of the questionnaire data on parents was associated with the intactness of children's families[3] but it seems likely that it would have been. Although this could account for children not knowing the occupation or education of the male head of the family it would not explain the large proportion of boys and girls--especially those in the working-class schools--who failed to report their mothers' education. Since there is no reason to believe that children would be reluctant to report their mothers' education, the conclusion suggested is that many do not know it. Children may tend to lack this information--and information about fathers too--more in working-class than in middle-class schools because mothers--and fathers--in the former case are likely to have had relatively little education and consequently may be less disposed to speak of it. Parents of children in middle-class schools are more likely to have been to college and to make their children aware of it. In short it may be that the higher the educational level of a biological or step-parent, the greater the probability that the child will know it.

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[1] These are indicated in Chapter 3.

[2] Families in which children were living with both biological parents.

[3] In the coding of data on father's occupation and on education of parents, we unfortunately did not distinguish the source from which the information came.

There is, of course, the further question of how correctly children report their father's occupation and the education of both parents. We have no evidence bearing on this directly, but that the reports are roughly accurate can be assumed from the correlations found in our study between each of the three variables and the LOA of boys and girls within middle-class and working-class schools. (Tables 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8).

It was fortunate for purposes of testing the hypothsis of influence of school type that boys and girls were more able to report their fathers' and mothers' aspirations for them than their fathers' occupation or the education of either parent. Ninetyfour percent of the total sample of the boys and ninetythree percent of the girls answered the question on how far their mothers wanted them to go in school. Their fathers' educational goal was reported by 86 percent of the boys and 89 percent of the girls. This rather low incidence of non-responses is impressive in view of the fact that in many instances children were reporting the aspirations of a step-parent or other parent surrogate.[1]

To assign a social class position to children's families required information about the occupation and education of the family head. As noted above these data were often lacking especially for children in the working-class schools.[2] To avoid the drastic reduction in the size of the sample in analyses involving social class as a variable, we followed the procedure described in Chapter 3. This probably introduced some degree of error in the social-class assignment of a number of families but it permitted us to rank approximately 90 percent of the families of children in the working-class schools and 96 percent of those children in the middle-class schools. The consistency, if not the validity, of our social class assignments is attested to by the close similarity in the class distribution of the families of the white boys and girls of the total sample.[1]

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[1] As indicated in Chapter 3, subjects not living with their biological parents were instructed to apply the questions relating to them to their parent substitutes.

[2] Difficulties are also introduced in may cases by the vagueness or incompleteness of the designation of father's occupation. See in this connection our article "Indeterminacies in Ranking of Father's Occupation," Public Opinion Quarterly, 28, Summer 1964, pp.287-292.

I.Q. and Grades

Children's scores on the I.Q. or academic aptitude test were taken directly from school records. The score differences between children in middle-class and working-class schools and the low scores of Negro children have been observed in other studies. In part the differences probably reflect class-linked differences in academic aptitude but they probably are also a measure of class-linked academic interest and even of test motivation. Some of the counsellors in the working-class schools emphasized the limitations of a group-administered aptitude test with children whose motivation could not be taken for granted.

Grades, like I.Q. scores, were obtained from school records. The grade differences between children in middle-class and working-class schools (and more generally between the social classes) and the relatively poor grades of Negro children are probably indicative of true differences in commitment to academic tasks. This commitment is manifest to teachers in application and achievement and is rewarded by grades. It may, of course, be argued that teachers grade more liberally in middle-class schools but this is less plausible than the assumption that children in middle-class schools get higher grades because of greater motivation and more favorable home influence than is characteristic of children in working-class schools.

Children's Attitudes to Parents

Children's scores on the scales of parental helpfulness and esteem were intended to differentiate the children in terms of favorability of their relationship with their fathers and mothers. We can point only to the manifest content of the scale items as evidence for the assumption that children answering them in the more positive direction tend to have a closer and warmer relationship with their parents than children answering them more negatively.

As indicated earlier in the chapter responses to the items comprising the parental helpfulness and esteem scales could be questioned as having been influenced by social-desirability response set.[2] It is socially proper to regard--and to describe one's parents favorably rather than unfavorably. It therefore, could be argued that children's parent-attitude scale scores may be indicative of their tendency to give the socially approved answers rather than being a measure of their "true" evaluation of their fathers and mothers. Some evidence opposing this argument has been cited earlier.

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[1] See Table 4.1

[2] See Edwards, op.cit.

Data on Children's School Adjustment

The validity of indices of school adjustment derived from students' self-reports and the validity of teachers' appraisals of their students' adjustment are mutually supported by the rough agreement on social-class linked differences in the results produced by these two independent sources. Teachers' appraisals on Factor One, which we construe as ranking children by the favorability of their general school adjustment, show social-class differences that are consistent with those revealed in the student self-report structure.

In view of the fact that teachers' appraisals on Factor Two (aggressive-maladjustment) and in Factor Three (withdrawn-maladjustment) have no precise counterparts among student-reported measures of adjustment, we neither expect--nor find--consistent agreement between student-reported general adjustment and these two sub-dimensions of teacher-rated maladjustment.

The extraction of acceptable Guttman-type quasi- and unidimensional cumulative scales attests to the consistency and regularities in student responses to the universes tapped by the questionnaire items. In the constellation of items relating to school adjustment students' responses to four subsets of items--those bearing on Liking for School, Happiness in Class, Perception of Relations with Teachers, and Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities--formed cumulative-hierarchical patterns with sufficient stability and conceptual dimensionality to satisfy the rigorus tests of scaleability. From this we infer that children's responses--both individually and en masse--were ordered and internally consistent. The manifest content of the items in the scales, it would appear, tapped the same dimension of meaning for all students, albeit, with a somewhat different internal structure of meaning or behavior for boys than for girls.

Other than the scales, accuracy of student responses to items relating to school adjustment is suggested by the consistency with which anticipated social-class differences appeared in feelings of academic inadequacy, office holding, rule compliance, and sense of justice as described in Chapter 7.

Two measures of school adjustment--Absences from School due to Illness and Number of Visits to the School Nurse--had little or no discriminating power in furnishing a test of our hypothesis regarding social class differences in tendencies to withdraw or escape from a stressful school situation. While there may be, in fact, no association between number of illness absences and between visits to the school nurse and class-linked stress in school, we believe that the time period in which these data were gathered was too short for significant individual differences to appear. Gathering these data over a year or two years instead of for five months--as we did--would have permitted greater differentiation of high-, medium- and low-frequency of nurse visits and illness absences. Over the longer time span we would expect to find social-class linked differences in withdrawal from school through illness absences, and we would expect to see more association between visits to the school nurse and social class status than was evident in the present study.

Evaluation of the results of teachers' appraisals of student adjustment, in addition to their rough congruence and consistency with the results derived from students' self reports, rests on three considerations. The first consideration is the question of the extent of agreement between teachers' appraisals of each child on the original eighteen items. We found such agreement to be relatively low among our teachers. For example, one teacher would judge a child to be very anxious or a discipline problem while other teachers would rate him as relatively non-anxious or as only a slight discipline problem. Lack of inter-teacher agreement could be reflecting true differences in the behavior of particular students in their relationships to different teachers or in their response to different classroom social situations, subject matter, or procedures. This explanation would suggest that students display different characteristics in their response to different teachers or situations and that teacher agreement, per se, is irrelevant to judging the validity of teacher appraisals. There may have been a defect in the rating procedure in that the terms or labels of the attributes to be rated were not precisely defined in terms of observable behavior and some entailed a good deal of inference on the teachers' part. This permitted a latitude of interpretation between teachers which may have encouraged individual teachers to exhibit their personal bias--one teacher tending to rate all students more favorably or less extremely than another.

Idiosyncratic teacher bias could have been corrected by standardizing all the scores made by each teacher, thus, in effect, eliminating the effects of tendencies to rate uniformly high or low, conservatively or extremely, favorably or unfavorably. We elected, however, to establish for each child an average, or conjoint, appraisal of all teachers rating him or her on each trait. This, in effect, reduced the influence of one highly deviant teacher rating of a child on any particular trait.

The second consideration relevant to the evaluation of the teachers' appraisals is the outcome of the factor analysis of teacher ratings as described in Chapter 3. The results of the factor analysis clearly indicate that there is an orderly structure and consistent organization underlying the averaged teachers' ratings. Further, the underlying factor structure fits the universe of teachers' ratings exceedingly well in that the three extracted factors account for almost all of the variance present. Moreover, the nearly isomorphic results between factor analysis of the universe of ratings of boys separately from that of girls increases our confidence in the stability of the underlying structure. Other benefits accrue from the factor results. One is that our procedure of averaging teacher ratings passes a rather strict empirical test. The other is that the evidence in support of the orderliness and coherence of teachers' appraisals reflects favorably, in addition, on the order and consistency of students' self-reports of adjustment with which teachers' appraisals are in rough agreement.

Finally, the third consideration in the evaluation of the teachers' appraisal data is that there is evidence that teachers' ratings, on Factor One especially, and to a lesser extent on Factors Two and Three, are positively correlated with the degree to which students approximate what might be called the ideals of the school as a social institution in our culture. Teachers rate more favorably those children who achieve well and earn high grades, who are actively participating in extra-curricular school activities, who are frequently elected to student offices, and who are observably popular with their fellow students.[1]

The Sample

The results of this investigation require a number of qualifications in the light of the characteristics of the sample of subjects and schools employed.

Our subjects were drawn from only two school systems in one region of the country. This suggests the need for some caution in generalizing from the results obtained with our sample--especially the working-class schools--to schools in major metropolitan areas in this country, such as Chicago, Detroit, New York and others.

There is only one school in our sample whose student body is predominantly Negro and the number of Negro students in our sample is small. On both counts, therefore, we emphasize that our results pertaining to Negro childern and to Negro-white differences should be regarded as essentially exploratory and of unknown representativeness.

It will be recalled that our eighth graders were attending metropolitan and middle-class suburban junior high schools in an area of important population concentration--an area, furthermore, in which a major public and a major private university and a variety of parochial, private and state colleges and locally supported junior (2 year) colleges are accessible. Our results, therefore, may not apply to children in rural areas, in small cities remote from large population centers, or in regions that provide few local, open opportunities for higher education.

Two subgroups are relatively under-represented among the subjects of this study. The children of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers are under-represented in the working-class group. Further, there were very few children from families of high social rank--the upper class--characterized by substantial wealth and prestigeful family lineage. It therefore remains to be demonstrated that our results are generally applicable to children from families at the extremes of the social-stratification hierarchy.

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[1] The data of our study which support this assertion are not given in this report.

Within the foregoing limitations imposed by the characteristics of our sample--and bearing in mind the nature and qualifications of our data as previously discussed in this chapter--we believe that our results are representative of those that would be obtained for white boys and girls from middle- and working-class families in a majority of schools in many areas and regions of the country.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The research described in this report was concerned with two major questions. The significance of the research for social science and educational practice has already been discussed, the procedures and results of the study have been reported in detail and, finally, the preceding chapter presented an evaluation of the various facets of the investigation. Any attempt at this point to fully summarize what has gone before, therefore, would entail a great deal of repetition. Consequently, we here offer only a brief statement of the two major conclusions of the study. Our primary attention in this chapter will be given to some suggestions for further research, the need for which has impressed us in the course of this investigation.

The first major conclusion to be drawn from this study (Chapters 4, 5 and 6) is that the paramount influence leading young adolescents to adopt high, or low, long-term educational aspirations is centered in the family. Specifically, the results of this research highlight the crucial role played by parental educational goals and aspirations for their child in shaping the child's own aspirations. In contrast to the importance of the family, our results indicate that the modal social status or climate of aspiration of the school have little, if any, effect in modifying the level of aspiration children acquire in the home. Furthermore, our results indicate that sub-cultural differences in educational values and aspirations exist and are linked to the status of the family in the stratification structure of our society. Children's aspirations parallel those of their parents for them--and the levels of parental aspirations for children tend to be relatively uniform within each social-class subculture.

The investigation of social-class differences in children's school adjustment (Chapters 7 and 8) yields the second major conclusion of the research--namely, that there are social-class differences in many spheres of school adjustment. While this conclusion provides further empirical confirmation for a view that is widely held by educators, mental health professionals, and social scientists alike, our results suggest that these social-class differences are not as great as is commonly assumed nor as great as those suggested in the current literature bearing on children's adjustment in school.

Recommended Research on the Problem of Aspirations

How accurately do children report their parents' aspirations for them?[1] We regard this as one of the first questions to which researchers interested in parental influence on children's aspirations should address themselves. This critical question is unanswered in our study and in any other investigation relying on children's reports for data on parental aspirations or on other family influences of which children are presumably aware. School children are captive subjects for research and samples of children representative of the different social classes are far more accessible for study than are representative samples of parents. Consequently, it is important to determine whether children can serve as reliable informants about those aspects of their parents' behavior and their home situation which may be thought to shape and affect children's values and aspirations.

Regardless of whether parents or children are the source of information on the former's aspirations, research in this area would benefit from the development of a scale, or scales, which would measure the educational aspirations mothers and fathers have for their children, parents' certainty about these aspirations, and the intensity with which they hold them.

Much research is needed on the character of manifest and latent influences in the home which shape and sustain children's level of educational aspiration. Intensive interviews with parents of children in both elementary and secondary grades should prove most valuable in this regard. We particularly need to know much more about working-class families. More specifically we must fill the gap in our knowledge of the attitudes and values of working-class parents which result in a large proportion of children in this stratum having low educational aspirations.

Our research was limited to eighth graders. It, of course, requires replication at this grade level, but the questions with which it dealt must be studied with children in both lower and higher grades. One problem having many theoretical and practical implications is the question of the age at which children's educational aspirations crystalize. A related question is at how early a stage in a child's education do parents--particularly in the working-class--develop a rather firm conception of how much education they want their child to have. Beyond this it is important to learn more precisely of the influence exerted by peers on a child's general orientation to school in the earlier years. This influence, if operative before children have any clear awareness of the goal they wish to attain, could affect its attainment by its impact on attitudes, habits of study, etc., which are related to academic achievement.

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[1] Our purpose here is to state what we consider to be some of the more important questions for research but we make no attempt to suggest how they may be studied.

We suggested in Chapter 4 that the best way to determine whether schools can change the aspiration level which children acquire in their homes is by an experimental study. Such a study may now be feasible. Its significance would justify the considerable effort required to carry it out. It would entail moving a randomly selected group of working-class children (known to have a low level of educational aspiration) from working-class schools to middle-class schools. After a sufficient period of time their level of aspiration could be compared with that of a control group of comparable children who had remained in the working-class schools. This research could well be cast in the form of a panel study which would investigate the important question of whether working-class children in a middle-class school do in fact take middle-class children with higher aspirations as their reference group. A parallel inquiry should be made of middle-class children in a working-class school.

A somewhat related problem of social mobility which requires empirical study is what might be designated the question of school drift. It will be recalled from Chapter 4 that we found that, with educational level controlled, parents of children in middle-class schools tended to have higher aspirations for their children than did parents of children in working-class schools. The question requiring study here is whether the working-class parents of children in middle-class schools have deliberately moved their families to a residential area which promises their children a better school and neighborhood environment.

We think it important that studies be made of the interplay between aspirations and achievement or aptitude. One question at issue here is the extent to which aspirations are influenced through conceptions acquired by children (at home or in school) of their academic aptitude. Conversely, there is the question of how aspirations, as such, influence academic achievement. In this connection we think it would be theoretically and practically useful to determine to what degree aspirations held at various stages of children's education are predictive of their ultimate level of educational attainment. Detailed studies of children who realized their aspirations and of those who did not would contribute richly to our understanding of the conditions which account for differences in educational attainment within and between the various strate of our society.

Suggestions For Research On Social Class Differences in School Adjustment

This area warrants far more theoretical attention and empirical study than it hitherto has received. The few quantitative studies made to date, our own not excepted, have been primarily descriptive.[1] Theoretically oriented research is needed to determine the conditions associated with social class which can account for observed social-class differences in children's school adjustment. If it be assumed, for example, that one such important condition is children's perception of the instrumental value of school it would be expected that social-class differences in children's school adjustment would be less evident in the earlier than in the later grades. This consideration, as well as others, suggests the desirability of research on children's school adjustment in the earlier as well as in the middle years of their schooling. Variability in children's adjustment should be broadly conceived so as to embrace differences in children's feelings about the school situation--their attitudes to their teachers, their sense of adequacy in school tasks, etc.--as well as differences in objectively recordable behavior such as truancy.[1]

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[1] A notable exception is Stinchcombe's study (op.cit.) which did not focus specifically on social-class differences in school adjustment. Based on data from a single high school, this theoretically oriented research can serve as a stimulating point of departure for further research.

The behavior of teachers in their interaction with students of different social strata is a critical component of the problem area under discussion requiring more theoretical analysis and empirical study. The results of our research on the attitudes of eighth-grade boys and girls and the findings of the observational studies by Clifton[2] and Hoehn[3] of children in the lower grades fail to support the view that the behavior of teachers toward their students favors children from families of higher social status. This assumption should be more extensively tested at various grade levels and with greater theoretical refinement. It may well be, as Hoehn suggests, that what teachers favor in their charges is superior academic achievement which tends to be more characteristic of middle-class than of working-class children. Social-class status may be a spurious variable in this situation and, if so, it is important for both teachers and others concerned that the operative factor be correctly identified.

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[1] Stinchcombe limited his study to this type of behavior and this may explain why he observed no social-class differences in the one school he investigated.

[2] Op.cit.

[3] Op.cit.

APPENDIX A

SCALING TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDY

The techniques of scale analysis employed in this study are based on the theory of cumulative scaling developed by Guttman.[1] Guttman states, "Scale analysis affords a rigorous test for the existence of single meaning for an area [responses to a set of questions] and provides a rank order of individuals for such areas as are found scalable. . . . A rank order of people is meaningful if, from a person's rank order, one knows precisely his responses to each of the questions or acts included in the scale."[2]

Perfect scales are seldom encountered. A perfect scale would permit persons to be ranked from highest to lowest, from most favorable to least favorable, from most positive to least positive with respect to a set of questions whose content refers to a single conceptual dimension. Knowing a person's rank on a five-item scale, such as motivation for going to college, enables us to reproduce his responses to each of the five questions included in the scale. Guttman's Coefficient of Reproducibility is one measure of the achieved approximation to a perfect scale, i.e., it indicates the proportion of responses that can be correctly reproduced from knowledge of subjects' scale scores. A Coefficient of Reproducibility of .90 or higher is recommended by Guttman as a criterion of the scaleability of a set of items. The Coefficients of Reproducibility of all scales (with their items dichotomized) used in this study met this criterion. The scales in their final form are presented in Chapter 3.

Most of the scale items as initially developed were tested for scaleability before being used with the sample of boys and girls who provided the data of the present study.[3] The scales were pretested with a group of eighth graders at lower levels of reading comprehension who were attending a school not included in this study.

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[1] Samuel A. Stouffer, Louis Guttman, Edward A. Suchman, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Shirley A. Star, and John A. Clausen, Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, Vol. IV: Measurement and Prediction, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950.

[2] Ibid., p.88. Guttman summarizes the main considerations of scale analysis in Ibid., p.88-90. See also Edward A. Suchman, "The Logic of Scale Construction," Educational and Psychological Measurement, 10 (1950), 79-93.

[3] This study is indebted to the following for their contributions to the formulation of items and to the scale analysis in the pretest: Leonard S. Cahen, Maury T. Carlin, Godwin C. Chu, Paul L. Doerring, James Snider, Ray L. Sweigert, Jr., and Irving Tallman.

Responses to scale questions by the subjects of this study were reanalyzed for scaleability. Re-analysis is required because responses to a given set of questions may form an acceptable scale for one sample but not for another or for the same sample of respondents at one time but not at another time.

Borgatta's machine data processing techniques[1] were employed in the initial retest of the scaleability of each set of items.[2] The Coefficients of Reproducibility in the retest of the scales ranged from .91 to .96. Although these coefficients met or exceeded the minimum values set for acceptance of the hypothesis of unidimensionality, a further analytic procedure was employed.[3]

Subsequent to his original exposition of the theory and method of cumulative scaling, Guttman reported a technique, called Partial Image Analysis, for testing the extent to which a scale had the properties of a quasi-scale.[4] A quasi-scale may be described as a set of items the content of which is highly loaded with the one conceptual dimension sampled by the scale, but also having very low loadings with one or more other factors which presumably are responsible for the amount of error observed. Partial Image Analysis provides a test of the extent to which a "perfect" quasi-scale is achieved. This degree of approximation of a quasi-scale is measured by the number of errors that remain after the transformation of scale patterns specified by Guttman's procedures have been performed.

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[1] Edgar F. Borgatta, "Cumulative Scaling as a Routine Procedure with the IBM 101," Sociometry, 20 (1957), 317-325.

[2] Subjects who failed to answer more than one of the questions included in a scale were excluded from the analysis and consequently were not scored on the variable measured by the scale. Where only one of the items in a scale was unanswered, a negative response in the dichotomization of that item was assigned to the respondent. The effect of this was to lower the Coefficient of Reproducibility from that which would have been obtained had these respondents been excluded from the scaling procedures.

[3] In dichotomizing the response categories for items included in the scales extreme marginals (more than 80 per cent or less than 20 per cent were avoided, and the item responses were so dichotomized as to form the most equal-interval gradient in marginals from high to low on the scale.

[4] Louis Guttman, "The Israel Alpha Technique for Scale Analysis," in Matilda White Riley, John W. Riley, Jr., and Jackson Toby, Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954, pp.410-415.

APPENDIX B

INSTRUCTIONS FOR TEACHERS

ADMINISTERING TEEN-AGERS' STUDY FORM

I. Note that there are different forms for boys and girls. Those for boys are white; those for girls are yellow.

II. A. IF YOU ARE ADMINISTERING FORM A OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE (indicated by an A in the upper right hand corner) read the statement in Box A on the next page on the class BEFORE passing out the forms. When administering FORM A do not tell students they will be filling out another form later.

B. IF YOU ARE ADMINISTERING FORM B (indicated by a B in the upper right hand corner) read the statement in Box B to the class BEFORE passing out the forms.

C. While the class is filling out the forms please list, on the accompanying sheet (1) all the children who are filling out the forms, and (2) those who are absent from the class today for any reason. Enclose this list with the completed forms (and those not used) in the attached envelope.

D. Seal the envelope and write your name on the outside of the envelope before returning it to the principal's office.

E. When the class has finished writing will you ask everyone to follow you as you ask them to turn page by page to make sure they have answered every question. If about 5 minutes before the end of the class period a few students are still not finished ask them to keep on writing while you are having the others check for completeness of answers.

F. If anybody asks for an explanation of some question try to deal with it by suggesting that it be answered by checking "the answer that fits you best."

G. Some boys and girls will probably finish much sooner than others. Item 6 in the statement which you read to the class asks the students to study when they have finished the form. If this is not appropriate, please give them some other assignment which will keep them busy so as not to disturb those who are still writing.

BOX A

We are not going to have our regular class today. Instead this class and other 8th grade classes in our school and in many other junior high schools are taking part in a very important study. The purpose of the study is to learn more about teen-agers from the teen-agers themselves.

All 8th graders are going to fill out the forms which I'm now going to give you. In answering, remember these things:

1. *This is not a test or exam*. There is no right or wrong answer. The only answer to each question is the one that tells best how *you* think or feel.

2. I will not see your answers and no one else in school or at home will see them. When you finish, the forms will be sent to Stanford University which is in charge of the study.

3. Do not talk while others are still writing.

4. You can use either a pen or a pencil.

5. Most of the questions can be answered by making an X or a check mark like this ✓ beside the answer that fits best for you.

   (Please demonstrate the check mark on the blackboard)

6. When you finish the form turn it face down on your desk, open your book and study for the rest of the period.

   (If this study assignment is not appropriate please give some other assignment.)

BOX B

We are not going to have our regular class this hour. Instead we're going to answer the second and last part of the Teen-Agers' Study. All of you or most of you have already filled out the first part so you know what to do. Let me just remind you again that:

1. This is not a test or exam. There is no right or wrong answer. The only answer to each question is the one that tells best how you think or feel.
2. I will not see your answers and no one else in school or at home will see them. When you finish, the forms will be sent to Stanford University which is in charge of the study.
3. Do not talk while others are still writing.
4. You can use either a pen or a pencil.
5. Most of the questions can be answered by making an X or a check mark like this ✓ beside the answer that fits you best.

   (Demonstrate the check mark on the blackboard)

6. When you finish the form, turn it face down on your desk, open your book and study for the rest of the period.

   (If this study assignment is not appropriate, please give some other assignment.)

School name: ____________________

Your name: ____________________

Class filled out: _____ Form A _____ Form B

Date: ____________________

Period: ____________________

Subject: ____________________

Names of All Students Filling out Forms

Last Name **First Name**

1. ____________________
2. ____________________
3. ____________________
4. ____________________
5. ____________________
6. ____________________

Etc. ____________________

Names of Students Absent from Class

1. ____________________
2. ____________________
3. ____________________
4. ____________________
5. ____________________
6. ____________________

Etc. ____________________

Boys -- A

Stanford Study of Teen-Agers

1. *This is not a test or exam.*

   The right answer to each question is the one that tells how *you* think or feel.

2. Nobody in the school will see your answers.

3. Do not talk while others are writing.

How to answer the questions

Most of the questions can be answered by marking an Z or a check mark like this ✓ on the little line beside the answer that fits you best.

Be sure to answer every question.

Dr. Paul Wallin
Director
Stanford Teen-Agers Study

About yourself

1. When were you born? ____________________ (month) ________ (day) ________ (year)

2. How tall are you? (If not sure, guess.) ________ (feet) ________ (inches)

3. How much do you weigh? (If not sure, guess.) ________ (pounds)

4. How many brothers and sisters live with you? (Count in half-brothers and half-sisters or foster ones.)
   _____none
   _____1
   _____2
   _____3
   _____4
   _____5 or more

5. How long have you been going to this school?
   _____this is my first semester here
   _____this is my second semester
   _____this is my second year here

6. What is your home room number? _____

7. How far do you want to go in school?
   _____want to quit as soon as I can
   _____to finish 9th grade
   _____to finish 10th grade
   _____to finish 11th grade
   _____to finish 12th grade
   _____to go to a college or university for a few years
   _____to finish 4 or more years of college

If you want to do something else, write in what it is:

I want to: ____

How boys and girls your age feel about school

1. How often do you feel you like school very much?

_____always
_____most of the time
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

2. Do you ever feel you hate school?

_____always
_____most of the time
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

3. Do you have a good time at school?

_____always
_____most of the time
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

4. How many of your school subjects do you really enjoy?

_____4 or more
_____3
_____2
_____1
_____none of them

5. Do you ever wish you never had to go to school?

_____always
_____most of the time
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

6. Are there things about school you like very much?

_____I like everything about it
_____I like most things
_____I like some things
_____I like a few things
_____there's hardly anything about school I like very much

7. How well do you think most of your teachers understand your feelings?

_____very well
_____pretty well
_____not very well
_____not at all

8. How many of your school subjects do you find are pretty hard or very hard?

_____none
_____1
_____2
_____3
_____4 or more

9. Do you ever have the feeling that you are not much good at school work?

_____always
_____most of the time
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

10. Do you feel your teachers treat you fairly?

_____all of them do
_____most of them do
_____some of them do
_____none of them do

11. Does somebody in your family see to it that you do your school homework?

_____always
_____most of the time
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

How boys your age feel about going to a four-year college or to a university

1. How much do you want to go to college?
_____very much
_____pretty much
_____a little
_____not at all

2. Do you ever feel you can hardly wait until you get to college?
_____I feel that many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

3. How sure are you now you really want to go to college?
_____very sure I want to go
_____pretty sure I want to
_____not very sure I want to
_____not at all sure I want to
_____sure I don't want to

4. Do you think you would be unhappy if you didn't go to college?
_____would be very unhappy
_____would be pretty unhappy
_____would be a little unhappy
_____wouldn't be unhappy at all

5. Would you say you don't really care whether you go to college or not?
_____yes
_____no

6. How sure are you that you are going to college?
_____very sure I'm going
_____pretty sure I'm going
_____pretty sure I'm not going
_____very sure I'm not going

How boys your age feel about girls

1. What do you think is about the right age for boys to become interested in girls?
_____when boys are 11 or 12
_____when boys are 13 or 14
_____when boys are 15 or 16
_____when boys are 17 or older

2. If you could choose the school you were going to, would you go to a school:
_____that had only boys
_____a school with girls and boys
_____it would make no difference

3. About how many times during the last 6 months have you been at a party for girls and boys away from the school?
_____no times
_____1 time
_____2 or 3 times
_____4 or 5 times
_____6 times or more

4. How much of a chance have you had so far to learn how to get along with girls?
_____a very good chance
_____a good chance
_____a pretty good chance
_____not much of a chance

5. Do you know any girls your age that you enjoy being with very much?
_____none
_____1
_____2 or 3
_____4 or more

6. Do you feel that at your age girls make life more interesting for you?
_____much more interesting
_____a little more interesting
_____they don't make life any different for me

How boys your age feel about some things

Please answer each sentence on this page. If the thing that is said is true for you make a circle around the yes. If it isn't true for you make a circle around the no. Be sure to do this for each sentence.

1. I get along well with most boys . . . . Yes
2. I daydream quite a lot when I'm in class. . . . . Yes
3. I'm a little nervous when I'm with kids who are tougher than I am . Yes
4. I'm shy about asking questions in class . . . . Yes
5. I usually feel better when I'm by myself than I do when I'm with other kids .. Yes
6. It scares me when a bigger kid gets really mad at me. . . . . Yes N
7. I sometimes feel worried and upset for no special reason . . . . . Yes N
8. I think most girls my age don't understand me . . . . Yes N
9. I have some very close friends. . . . . Yes N
10. I'm kind of shy with most girls . . . . Yes N
11. I'm sure of myself in most things I do . . . . Yes N
12. It bothers me a lot if kids make fun of me . . . . Yes N
13. I sometimes worry about getting sick. . . . . Yes N
14. I daydream quite a lot when I'm at home . . . . Yes N
15. I make friends easily . . . . Yes No
16. Its easy for somebody to hurt my feelings . . . . Yes No
17. I think most boys my age don't understand me . . . . Yes No
18. Sometimes I feel tired for no special reason . . . . Yes No
19. I worry about things . . . . Yes No
20. I'm pretty sure that most boys I know like me . . . . Yes No
21. I usually enjoy my life very much . . . . Yes No
22. I've had one or more fights (with fists, kicking, pushing or things like that) in the last six months. . . . Yes No
23. It bothers me if I don't get good grades in most of my subjects . . Yes No
24. I sometimes feel sad or blue when I'm at home . . . . Yes No

How happy or unhappy boys and girls your age are about different things in your life

1. Do you feel happy when you are in class at school?

_____all the time
_____most of the time
_____some of the time
_____hardly ever
_____never

2. Is there anything that keeps you from being happy most of the time when you are in class?

_____nothing at all
_____just one thing
_____2 or 3 things
_____many things

3. Do you ever feel very unhappy when you are in class?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____just once in a while
_____never

4. Do you feel happy when you are at home with your family?

_____all the time
_____most of the time
_____some of the time
_____hardly ever
_____never

5. Is there anything about your family you wish was different?

_____nothing at all
_____1 thing
_____2 or 3 things
_____many things

6. Do you ever feel very unhap when you are at home with your family?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____just once in a while
_____never

7. Are you happy when you are doing things with kids your age?

_____always
_____most of the time
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

8. Is there anything that keeps you from being happy when yo are doing things with kids your age?

_____nothing at all
_____just one thing
_____2 or 3 things
_____many things

9. Do you ever feel very unhappy when you are doing things with kids your age?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____just once in a while
_____never

How boys and girls your age feel about how their family lives

1. As far as you know are most boys and girls in your school from families that are better off or worse off than yours?

_____their families are much better off
_____a little better off than my family
_____about the same as my family
_____a little worse off than my family
_____much worse off than my family

2. Do you ever think what your life will be like 10 or 15 years from now?

_____very many times
_____many times
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

3. When you grow up and have your own family how well off would you like to be?

_____much better off than my family is now
_____a little better off than my family is now
_____about the same as my family is now

4. When you grow up and have your own family how would you feel if you lived the way your family does now?

_____very satisfied
_____pretty satisfied
_____pretty dissatisfied
_____very dissatisfied

5. Right now how sure are you that when you grow up you will be pretty well off?

_____very sure
_____pretty sure
_____not very sure
_____not sure at all

6. How do you feel about the neighborhood you live in?

_____very satisfied
_____pretty satisfied
_____pretty dissatisfied
_____very dissatisfied

7. How do you feel about the place you have for sleeping?

_____very satisfied
_____pretty satisfied
_____pretty dissatisfied
_____very dissatisfied

8. How do you feel about the spending money or allowance your family gives you?

_____very satisfied
_____pretty satisfied
_____pretty dissatisfied
_____very dissatisfied

About your mother or the person taking her place

Answer the questions on this page and the next page about your real mother if you live with her.

If you are not living with your real mother answer them about the person you live with who is supposed to be taking her place. It may be a step-mother, foster mother, an aunt, or somebody else.

If you don't live with your mother or with a woman who takes her place skip this page and the next page.

1. How far did she go in school?

_____grade 6 or less
_____grade 7, 8, or 9
_____grade 10 or 11
_____grade 12
_____went to college but didn't finish
_____finished college or more
_____I don't know

2. Did she go to a special school to learn to be a secretary, a nurse, a beauty operator, or something else?

_____I don't know

_____no, she didn't

_____yes, she went to learn how to be a:_______________________

3. How far does she want you to go in school?

_____wants me to quit as soon as I can
_____to finish 9th grade
_____to finish 10th grade
_____to finish 11th grade
_____to finish 12th grade
_____to go to a college or university for a few years.
_____to finish 4 or more years of college or university

If she wants you to do something else, write in what it is.

She wants me to:_______________________________

4. Does she have a job outside the home?

_____yes, part time
_____yes, full time
_____yes, only in the summer
_____no, she does not work outside the home

5. If she has a job, what is her job?

She_______________________________________

she does not have a job.

About your mother or the person taking her place

1. Do you think she understands the sort of things that might worry or bother a person your age?

_____she understands them very well
_____pretty well
_____not very well
_____she doesn't understand at all

2. Is she the kind of person that is easy to talk to about most things that might be worrying or bothering you?

_____very easy to talk to
_____pretty easy
_____pretty hard
_____very hard to talk to

3. Do you think she wants you to tell her when something is worrying or bothering you?

_____I'm very sure she does
_____I'm pretty sure she does
_____I'm pretty sure she does not
_____I'm very sure she does not

4. Have you ever talked to her about something worrying or bothering you?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____once or twice
_____never

5. Do you ever feel that she is not very much interested in anything that is worrying or bothering you?

_____never feel that way
_____hardly ever feel that way
_____sometimes
_____quite a few times
_____most times

6. Most times when something is worrying or bothering you do you feel it will help you to talk to her about it?

_____I'm very sure it will help
_____pretty sure it will help
_____pretty sure it will not help
_____I'm very sure it will not help

7. Does she ever say or do something which makes you feel as if you are the most important person in the world?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

8. Do you think she's pretty satisfied with you just the way you are?

_____I'm very sure she is
_____I'm pretty sure she is
_____I'm pretty sure she isn't
_____I'm very sure she isn't

9. Do you ever feel she expects you to be perfect in everything you do?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

10. Does she ever give you the feeling that she's proud of you?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

11. Does she ever say nice things about you even when there is no special reason for saying them?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

12. How often does she say or do something that gives you more confidence in yourself?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes

Boys -- B

Stanford Study of Teen-Agers

1. This is the last part of the Teen-Agers Study.
2. Like the first part it is not a test or exam.

   The right answer to each question is the one that tells how you think or feel.
3. Nobody in the school will see your answers.
4. Do not talk while others are writing

How to answer the questions

Most of the questions can be answered by makring an X or a check mark like this ✓ on the little line beside the answer that fits you best.

Be sure to answer every question.

Dr. Paul Wallin
Director
Stanford Teen-Agers Study

About your health

1. Since the first of the year (January 1, 1960) how many different times have you been sick in bed for part of a day or longer?

_____never
_____1 time
_____2 or 3 times
_____4 or 5 times
_____6 times or more

2. How many of these different times did a doctor visit you or was a doctor phoned?

_____never
_____1 time
_____2 or 3 times
_____4 or 5 times
_____6 times or more
_____not sick since Jan. 1st.

3. How healthy are you most of the time?

_____very healthy
_____pretty healthy
_____not too healthy

4. Is there anything you have to be careful about most of the time because of your health?

_____yes
_____no

5. Since the first of the year (January 1st) how many times have you gone to the school nurse for first aid or because you were not feeling well?

_____never
_____1 time
_____2 or 3 times
_____4 or 5 times
_____6 times or more

6. Do you have any allergies like hay fever, hives, asthma, or eczema?

_____yes
_____no

7. Are you having any trouble with pimples on your face?

_____a lot of trouble
_____some trouble
_____a little trouble
_____none at all

8. How often do you have a headache?

_____a few times a week
_____about once a week
_____once or twice a month
_____a few times a year
_____never

9. How often do you have an upset stomach?

_____a few times a week
_____about once a week
_____once or twice a month
_____a few times a year
_____never

10. How often do you have a cold or sore throat?

_____a few times a week
_____about once a week
_____once or twice a month
_____a few times a year
_____never

11. How often do you have trouble falling asleep at night?

_____a few times a week
_____about once a week
_____once or twice a month
_____a few times a year
_____never

12. How often do you have nightmares or dreams which frighten or upset you?

_____a few times a week
_____about once a week
_____once or twice a month
_____a few times a year
_____never

13. How often do you find you are not hungry for lunch or supper even if you haven't had a snack?

_____a few times a week
_____about once a week
_____once or twice a month
_____a few times a year
_____never

14. How often do your hands shake enough to bother you?

_____a few times a week

_____about once a week

_____once or twice a month

_____a few times a year

_____never

15. How often does your heart beat fast or hard even if you are not running or exercising or watching a horror movie?

_____a few times a week

_____about once a week

_____once or twice a month

_____a few times a year

_____never

Things that make boys and girls your age angry

1. How often does some boy or girl do or say something that makes you feel angry?

_____never

_____hardly ever

_____sometimes

_____quite a few times

_____many times

2. How often does a teacher say or do something that makes you feel angry?

_____never

_____hardly ever

_____sometimes

_____quite a few times

_____many times

3. How often does somebody in your family do or say something that makes you feel angry?

_____never

_____hardly ever

_____sometimes

_____quite a few times

_____many times

4. Do you ever get so mad that you feel like smashing or breaking something?

_____never

_____hardly ever

_____sometimes

_____quite a few times

_____many times

5. When you have been angry at home how often have you said or done something that got you into trouble?

_____never

_____1 or 2 times

_____3 or 4 times

_____5 times or more

6. When you have been angry at school how often have you said or done something that got you into trouble?

_____never

_____1 or 2 times

_____3 or 4 times

_____5 times or more

How boys and girls your age feel about some things

Please answer each sentence on this page. If the thing that is said is true for you make a circle around the yes. If it isn't true for you make a circle around the no. Be sure to do this for each sentence.

1. I sometimes feel sad or blue when I'm at school . . . . Yes No
2. I often wish I were better looking . . . . Yes No
3. I find it hard to obey some school rules and regulations . . . . . . Yes No
4. I think all my teachers like me . . . . Yes No
5. It scares me a little when an adult gets mad at me . . . . Yes No
6. I often find it hard to pay attention in class. . . . . Yes No
7. I think there are too many things I'm not allowed to do at home . . . Yes No
8. I'm shy about talking in front of class . . . . Yes No
9. I get along well with most girls . . . . Yes No
10. I sometimes feel like teasing or making fun of other kids . . . . . . Yes No
11. Even when I really want to do something I seem to give up easily. . . Yes No
12. Sometimes I get blamed unfairly at school for things I didn't do. . . Yes No
13. I sometimes worry because I'm not as smart as I'd like to be. . . . . Yes No
14. I think most kids look up to you if you act tough . . . . Yes No
15. I like being with other kids more than being by myself. . . . . Yes No
16. I sometimes worry about the size I am for my age . . . . Yes No
17. Sometimes I get blamed unfairly at home for things I didn't do . . . Yes No
18. It takes a lot to make me real angry. . . . . Yes No
19. I'm pretty sure that most girls I know like me . . . . Yes No
20. Sometimes I think something bad is going to happen to me . . . . . . Yes No
21. I think I can do most things as well or better than most kids my age. Yes No
22. Sometimes I get slapped or hit when I'm punished at home . . . . . . Yes No
23. I wish I was more popular. . . . . Yes No
24. I wish I was better at sports . . . . Yes No

School clubs, activities and friends

1. Since school started in September, outside of your regular classes, how many school clubs have you taken part in? (Like swimming club, athletic club, camera club, glee club, dramatic club, chess club, and so on)

_____none
_____1
_____2
_____3 or 4
_____5 or more

2. Not counting clubs, how many school activities have you taken part in since September? (Like talent show, operetta, assembly and so on)

_____none
_____1
_____2
_____3 or 4
_____5 or more

3. How many school athletic teams (playing against other schools) have you been on since September?

_____none
_____1
_____2
_____3 or 4
_____5 or more

4. Have you made any honor roll or honor society this year or in the 7th grade?

_____no

_____yes

5. Have you been an officer on the student council or in your home room this year or in the 7th grade?

_____no

_____yes

6. If right now you could choose and be very good only at school work or only at sports, which one would you choose?

_____to be very good at sports

_____to be very good at schoolwork

7. If you could choose, what three boys in the whole 8th grade would you like most to have as your best friends? Print their first and last names.

First names Last names

A. ____

B. ____

C. ____

Questions about happenings to boys and girls of your age

Suppose the things on this page happened to you, would you tell one of the adults in your family about it?

Put a check like this ✓ in the square on each line which shows your answer.

Would you tell one of the adults in your family?	Yes I would	I might	No I wouldn't
1. If you thought a teacher had bawled you out or punished you unfairly?			
2. If some bigger boy or girl in your school kept picking on you?			
3. If you had a bad headache when you were home?			
4. If you had a stomachache when you were at home?			
5. If you had a bad toothache when you were at home?			
6. If you thought you had a fever when you were at home?			
7. If you had a lot of trouble falling asleep some night?			
8. If you didn't feel well?			
9. If you had a sore throat ?			
10. If you thought you had sprained your ankle?			

About you and your family

1. When were you born? ____________________ month ____ day ________ year

2. Are both your real parents living?

_____both are living
_____only mother is living
_____only father is living
_____neither one is living
_____I'm not sure if mother is living
_____I'm not sure if father is living

3. If your real parents are both alive, are they:

_____living together
_____separated
_____divorced

________one or both my parents not living
________I'm not sure if both are living

4. Whom do you live with right now?

_____mother and father
_____mother and step-father
_____mother and relatives
_____mother only
_____father and step-mother
_____father and relatives
_____father only
_____grandmother, aunt, or relatives
_____foster parents

If none of these answers fit you, whom do you live with?

I live with____

About your father or the person taking his place

Answer the questions on this and the next page about your real father if you live with him.

If you are not living with your real father answer them about the man you live with who is supposed to be taking his place. It may be a stepfather, foster father, an uncle or somebody else.

If you don't live with your father or with a man who takes his place you can skip this page and the next page.

1. How far does he want you to go in school?

_____wants me to quit as soon as I can
_____to finish 9th grade
_____to finish 10th grade
_____to finish 11th grade
_____to finish 12th grade
_____to go to college or university for a few years.
_____to finish 4 or more years of college or university.

If he wants you to do something else, write in what it is:

____

2. How far did he go in school?

_____grade 6 or less
_____grade 7, 8, or 9
_____grade 10 or 11
_____finished grade 12
_____went to college but didn't finish
_____finished 4 years of college or more
_____don't know

3. Most of the time does he work for himself or for somebody else?

_____he works for himself or has his own business
_____he works for somebody else
_____I don't know what he does

4. What is his work or job most of the time?

He ____

____

About your father or the person taking his place

1. Do you think he understands the sort of things that might worry or bother a person your age?

_____he understands them very well
_____pretty well
_____not very well
_____he doesn't understand at all

2. Is he the kind of person that is easy to talk to about most things that might be worrying or bothering you?

_____very easy to talk to
_____pretty easy
_____pretty hard
_____very hard to talk to

3. Do you think he wants you to tell him when something is worrying or bothering you?

_____I'm very sure he does
_____I'm pretty sure he does
_____I'm pretty sure he does not
_____I'm very sure he does not

4. Have you ever talked to him about something worrying or bothering you?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____once or twice
_____never

5. Do you ever feel he is not very much interested in anything that is worrying or bothering you?

_____never feel that way
_____hardly ever feel that way
_____sometimes
_____quite a few times
_____most times

6. Most times when something is worrying or bothering you do you feel it will help you to talk to him about it?

_____I'm very sure it will help
_____pretty sure it will help
_____pretty sure it will not help
_____I'm very sure it will not help

7. Does he ever say or do something which makes you feel as if you are the most important person in the world?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

8. Do you think he's pretty satisfied with you just the way you are?

_____I'm very sure he is
_____I'm pretty sure he is
_____I'm pretty sure he isn't
_____I'm very sure he isn't

9. Do you ever feel he expects you to be perfect in everything you do?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

10. Does he ever give you the feeling that he's proud of you?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

11. Does he ever say nice things about you even when there is no special reason for saying them?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

12. How often does he say or do something that gives you more confidence in yourself?

_____many times
_____quite a few times
_____sometimes
_____hardly ever
_____never

APPENDIX C

FOR EIGHTH GRADE TEACHERS

INSTRUCTIONS FOR APPRAISING EIGHTH GRADE CHILDREN

As part of a study of boys and girls in junior high schools, all teachers of eighth graders in seven junior high schools are being asked some information about each child whom they have had as a pupil during the second semester of this year.

This information will be strictly confidential. No one in the school or the child's home will have access to it. No child's name, teacher's name, or school name will appear in any report of this research.

Most of this information consists of appraisals of the children on various personality and behavior characteristics. Each teacher is to make these appraisals without discussion with other teachers or other persons in the school. The appraisals are to represent the independent judgment of the teacher based on his or her own experience with, and observation of, the child.

I. Fill out a separate appraisal form for each child who has been a pupil of yours during the present semester.

II. You may find it helpful to appraise all the boys first and then all the girls. Or vice versa.

When you have finished your appraisals, please return this form and the completed appraisal forms for the children to the principal's office in the attached envelope. SEAL THE ENVELOPE AND WRITE YOUR NAME ON THE OUTSIDE.

Thank you for your cooperation in this research.

Dr. Paul Wallin
Director
Stanford Teen-Agers' Study

PLEASE ANSWER THE QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF ON THE NEXT PAGE

ABOUT YOURSELF

1. Your name____

Last name First name

2. Name of School____

3. Subject or subjects you taught this semester:_______________________

____

4. Sex:

_____ Male

_____ Female

5. Age:

_____ under 24

_____ 25 to 29

_____ 30 to 34

_____ 35 to 39

_____ 40 or over

6. Marital Status:

_____ Single

_____ Married

_____ Widowed

_____ Separated

_____ Divorced

7. How many years have you been teaching eighth grade?

_____ less than a year

_____ 1 year

_____ 2 years

_____ 3 or more years

8. Time required to complete all appraisal forms:_______________________

9. Address to which your check is to be sent:

____

____

____

APPRAISAL OF EIGHTH GRADE CHILD

A. Name of child: ____

Last name First name (please print)

B. Sex: __________ Boy __________ Girl

C. 1) What subject (or subjects) did you teach this child this semester?
2) What was the subject mark for the 5th report card period?
3) How many tardies has this child had since the beginning of January?

Subject	Mark	Tardies

I. APPRAISALS

From your own observation and experience with this child, how would you appraise the child on the following characteristics? Please appraise the child on each item even if you are not very sure of your appraisal. Indicate your appraisal by a check ✓ in the appropriate column.

TO WHAT EXTENT IS THIS CHILD USUALLY	Extremely	Very	Somewhat	Only a Little	Not At All
1. Happy and cheerful					
2. Quarrelsome with other children					
3. Self-confident; sure of himself (herself)					
4. Energetic; full of pep					
5. 'Mad at the world'; one with a chip on the shoulder'					
6. Easily discouraged					
7. One who feels inferior or inadequate					
8. Popular with other children					
9. Withdrawn; tending to keep to himself (herself)					
10. One who teases and makes fun of others					
11. Anxious or tense					
12. A discipline problem					
13. Sad; depressed; in low spirits					
14. One who gets along well with others					
15. One whose feelings are easily hurt					
16. Timid; shy					

II. ABOUT YOUR APPRAISALS

1. How certain are you of most of your appraisals of this child?

very certain	pretty certain	rather uncertain	most uncertain

2. All things considered (personality, appearance, etc.) how attractive or unattractive is this child?

very attractive	quite attractive	rather unattractive	quite unattractive

3. How would you rate this child's over-all personality adjustment?

very poor	poor	fair	good	very good	excellent

4. How well do you feel you understand this child in the sense of knowing why he acts as he does?

very well	pretty well	not too well	hardly at all

5. To the best of your knowledge how good is this child's home situation?

very good	good	fair	poor	very poor	have no idea

6. When you think of this child, what words or phrases come to mind as best describing him (or her)?

____

____

7. Is there anything you can add to the description of this child's adjustment? Is there anything either positive or negative about the child -- in class behavior, in personality, in relations with other children, home situation, etc. -- which is not adequately covered by the appraisals?

____

____

____

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